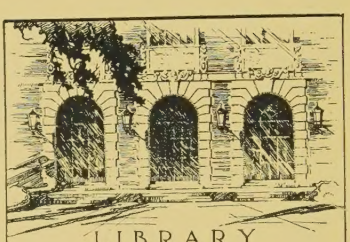


LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS

973.3356
N48s
cop.2

REMOTE STORAGE

The person charging this material is responsible for its return on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

NOV 12 197

L161— O-1096

WITHDRAWN
University of
Illinois Library
at Urbana-Champaign

3.3356
48s
v.2

THE LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779

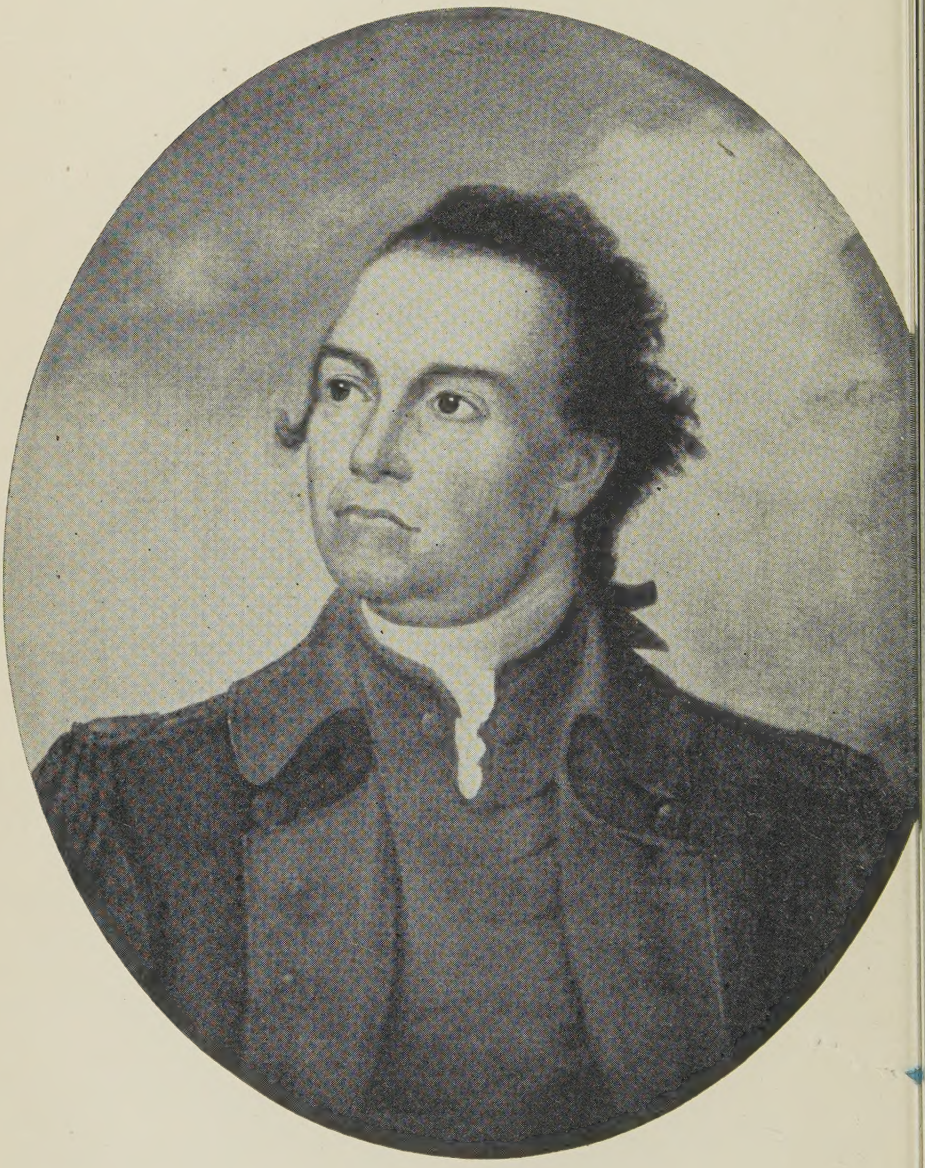
Chronology and Selected Documents

Prepared by the
DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
In connection with
The Sesquicentennial
of the
American Revolution

THE LIBRARY OF THE
APR 25 1930
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Albany
The University of the State of New York
1929

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA



JOHN SULLIVAN
From portrait in the State House, Concord, N. H.

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779

Chronology and Selected Documents

Prepared by the
DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

In connection with
The Sesquicentennial
of the
American Revolution

THE LIBRARY OF
APR 25 1930
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Albany
The University of the State of New York
1929

Y50r-J129-10,000

The University of the State of New York

Executive Committee on the Commemoration of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign

---

FRANK P. GRAVES
President of the University

A. C. FLICK
Chairman

WILLIAM LELAND THOMPSON
JAMES SULLIVAN
FREDERICK B. RICHARDS
GEORGE F. KUNZ
MRS ALTON B. PARKER
ALEXANDER J. WALL

PETER NELSON
Executive Secretary

Advisory Committee

B. ROGER WALES
Chairman

WILSON MESSER
Vice Chairman

GUY S. COMFORT
MRS NETTIE M. HEWITT
CHARLES H. HULL
WILLIAM M. LEFFINGWELL
FRANK A. FROST
CHARLES J. HEWITT
JOHN KNIGHT
LEON F. WHEATLEY
JOSEPH A. MCGINNIES
HENRY J. MCKAY
EDWIN C. NUTT
WILLIAM H. VAN CLEEF

722591

WILSON

CONTENTS

		PAGE
I	The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779	9
II	Chronological History of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign	17
III	Selected Letters and Documents relating to the Causes, Character and Results of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign	49
IV	Journals not Published in Sullivan's Indian Expedition	175
V	Bibliography	211
VI	Index	215

PROGRAM OF OBSERVANCES, 1929

I Observances, with Pageants of March of Sullivan-Clinton Armies

1 September 14, Genesee Country at Leicester-Cuylerville
2 September 21, Finger Lakes Region at Geneva
3 September 23, Southern New York at Elmira

II Joint Observances — New York and Pennsylvania

1 August 24, Athens, Pa.
2 October 5, Salamanca, N. Y.

III Other Observances

1 June 15, Canajoharie
2 July 22, Minisink Battlefield
3 August 8, Letchworth Park
4 August 9–10, Cooperstown
5 August 11, Oneonta
6 August 12, Unadilla-Sidney
7 August 13, Afton
8 August 17, Union
9 August 18, Binghamton
10 August 19, Owego
11 August 20, Cherry Valley
12 August 27, Chemung
13 September 10, Canandaigua
14 September 11, Honeoye
15 September 12, Conesus Inlet
16 September 22, Kershong
17 September 22, Syracuse
18 September 23, Seneca Falls
19 September 23, Waterloo
20 September 23, Kendaia
21 September 23, Burroughs Point
22 September 23, Lodi
23 September 24, Cayuga Village
24 September 24, Cayuga Castle
25 September 24, Aurora
26 September 24, Auburn
27 September 25–28, Meeting of New York State Historical Association at Elmira
28 September 25, Waverly
29 September 27, Horseheads
30 September 27, Ithaca
31 September 27, Montour Falls
32 September 27, Painted Post

THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN IN 1779

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779 against the hostile Iroquois Indians and the British fortresses at Oswego and Niagara was the result of frontier conditions in New York and Pennsylvania which had been growing more and more acute during the years 1777 and 1778. The warriors of the Six Nations, who had formed an alliance with the English and the Loyalists, terrorized the frontier settlements. As a result there was a persistent demand for adequate protection from the exposed communities.

The precipitous retreat of St Leger's army and the defeat of Burgoyne, which resulted in the surrender of his forces at Saratoga in 1777, brought temporary relief from the menace but no complete security. During the year 1778 the pillaging raids and attacks by Indians and Loyalists in the borderland were more numerous and more disastrous than before. Consequently the appeals of the menaced patriots to Governor George Clinton, to the New York Legislature, to Washington and to Congress for protection became piteously insistent.

The attacks on Wyoming July 3d, and on Cherry Valley November 11–12, 1778, opened the eyes of the civil and military authorities to the necessity of organizing a drive into the Indian country which would crush the power of the red men. Governor George Clinton promised that he would do everything within his power for "the protection and the comfort" of the frontiersmen. With General Philip Schuyler and General Edward Hand he advised a winter attack on the Indian strongholds. Although that suggestion did not materialize, the correspondence of Washington shows that he devoted a great deal of attention to the "Indian expedition" during the winter and spring of 1778–79. On March 13, 1779, the Legislature of New York ordered 1000 men to be recruited to defend the frontier, and forts to be erected. The "spirited exertions" of New York were commended by Congress.

Meanwhile Washington's plan for the "Indian expedition" was completed and laid before Congress, and that body on February 25, 1779, authorized it. On June 11, 1778, the sum of $932,743⅓ had been voted for a campaign against both Detroit and the Senecas. Owing to his rank, the leadership of the campaign was offered by Washington to General Gates. When he curtly refused the honor, General John Sullivan was appointed. He was well qualified by age, temperament and military experience to carry out the hazardous undertaking. General James Clinton, the brother of Governor George Clinton, was regarded as sec-

ond in command, and was given direct charge of the army which was assembled in New York and which was to march from the Mohawk valley southward to form a juncture with General Sullivan at Tioga in northern Pennsylvania. General Clinton was also authorized to open the campaign with a preliminary drive from the Mohawk valley into the country of the Onondagas.

The Sullivan-Clinton Expedition is commonly regarded as a punitive movement against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations. It was that, to be sure, and much more. The immediate purpose was to give protection to the defenseless frontier settlements. This was to be accomplished by destroying the Indian villages and sources of food supply, and by driving the Indians westward and northward. A second object was to cut off the food supply of corn and dried vegetables and fruits which had been going from the Indians to the Loyalists and British for waging the war. A third part of the plan was to capture the strong forts at Oswego and Niagara which were storehouses of the enemy and bases for military operations. But the most important objective has been entirely overlooked by most historians. By 1779 it was clearly seen that the war was deadlocked—and that was virtually a triumph for the American cause. Burgoyne had surrendered an army. France was an active ally. Other European nations were friendly. Peace was not far off, and, indeed, was openly talked in the British parliament. Washington and other leaders saw that independence with a mere fringe of land along the seacoast would scarcely be worth the cost of the struggle if the rest of the continent to the westward and northward remained in the hands of the motherland. Washington knew by actual experience the potential wealth of the fertile regions of the interior of the continent. He realized that when the time came to discuss terms of peace that rich area could be secured for the young nation only if it was in possession of the Americans. The conquest of western New York, the capture of Oswego and Niagara and the seizure of posts farther west would assure American possession at the end of the war. Hence in the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition an inland empire was the stake for which Washington was playing and not merely the punishment of dusky foes on our border.

The plan of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, as organized by Washington, consisted of four parts:

1 The campaign was to be opened in the spring of 1779 by General Clinton with an expedition from the upper Mohawk river and Fort Schuyler into the Onondaga country. The purpose of this movement was to free the main movement from the possibility of menace on the right flank by the more easterly tribes of the Six Nations, and thus

(Courtesy New York Historical Society)

GEORGE WASHINGTON

From wax profile by Patience Wright, 1785

permit the leaders of the expedition to devote all their attention to the Cayugas and Senecas.

2 After this preliminary drive General Clinton was to mobilize an army at Canajoharie on the Mohawk and then proceed across New York State southwestward, destroying Indian villages and cornfields as he followed the upper Susquehanna river down to Tioga, where he was to form a union with the army of General Sullivan.

3 Meanwhile Colonel Daniel Brodhead from Fort Pitt in western Pennsylvania was to ascend the Allegheny river to its headwaters, subduing the Indians and burning their homes as he penetrated their country. He was instructed to keep in touch with General Sullivan and to cross western New York to join him somewhere in the Seneca region.

4 The main body of the expedition under General Sullivan was to start from Easton, Pa., proceed across Pennsylvania to Tioga, and, after a juncture with General Clinton's army, move up into the Cayuga and Seneca territory. After the power of the Cayugas and Senecas had been broken, the British and Loyalists with them had been defeated, and Colonel Brodhead's reenforcements had arrived, it was hoped that the forts at Oswego and Niagara might be captured.

Thus it will be seen that the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was one of the largest offensive movements in the whole War of Independence. It directly involved the two states of New York and Pennsylvania. Upon its success depended the future expansion of the American Nation. Officers and soldiers participated from at least five states—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Experienced Continentals and not militia were employed to carry it out. A list of the higher officers will show the importance attached to the expedition by Washington—Generals Sullivan, Clinton, Hand, Poor and Maxwell; and Colonels Brodhead, Van Schaick, Butler, Cilley, Dayton, Dearborn, Proctor, Gansevoort, Van Cortlandt, Willett, Ogden, Shreve, Spencer, Reid, Hubley, Weissenfels, Dubois and Antis. The appropriation by Congress of nearly a million dollars for equipment and supplies reveals the significance attached by that body to the enterprise.

The Sullivan-Clinton Expedition against the Six Nations and their British and Loyalists leaders captured the imagination of the Americans. It awakened tremendous interest and was the theme of conversation all along the Atlantic seaboard. The newspapers of the day discussed it at great length. The novelty and uniqueness of this campaign against the red men in the wilderness with the strange sights and new experiences produced one result which did not characterize any

other movement in the Revolution to so great a degree. Officers and chaplains and privates kept diaries and journals of the happenings. About thirty of these personal observations have survived and most of them have been printed. Although few letters written by men on the expedition have survived—it may be that owing to conditions few were written—yet these diaries and journals give us today a remarkable picture of the occurrences.

A brief survey of each one of the four parts of the campaign mentioned above will enable one to visualize what took place and to see how successfully, for the most part, the expedition was carried out.

1 For the preliminary drive against the Onondagas in the early spring of 1779 General Clinton ordered troops from the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys to proceed to Fort Schuyler, where Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment and a company of artillery were stationed. There groups of Oneidas and Tuscaroras came to the fort and asked to be permitted to join the expedition. On April 18th the Indians accompanied by American officers—Lieutenant McClellan and Ensign Hardenbergh with two sergeants—set off on an independent movement. The next day, April 19th, Colonel Van Schaick, Lieutenant Colonel Willett and Major Cochran with 558 men and officers set out down Wood creek and across Lake Oneida. The army then marched overland to Onondaga lake and up Onondaga creek, where the Onondaga Indian villages were located. One account states that between 30 and 40 houses were burned; 15 Indians killed; 34 captured; one white man taken; the cows, horses and hogs which could not be taken away killed; provisions destroyed; "2 stands of colors," 100 guns, a swivel and ammunition taken or destroyed; and a large quantity of pillage obtained. Without a single man killed or wounded, the army with the prisoners and as much plunder as could be carried was back at the boats on Lake Oneida on April 22d. Two days later they reached Fort Schuyler. A difficult incursion had been made with extraordinary expedition and with great success. Congress publicly thanked Colonel Van Schaick, his officers and men for "their activity and good conduct." This enterprise made excellent publicity for strengthening the morale for the other parts of the expedition.

2 General Clinton's movement from the Mohawk to Tioga with about 1600 men was quite as successful. From Albany he gave orders for the various military units to rendezvous at Canajoharie. More than 200 flat-bottomed boats were built at Schenectady and taken up the river to the same place. Provisions were collected in boxes and barrels not only for his own army but for that of General Sullivan as well. During the latter part of June and early July the boats and provisions were carried over the hills by wagons from Canajoharie to

the head of Lake Otsego and then taken by water to the foot of the lake, where the troops assembled. The lake was dammed so as to raise the water sufficiently to float the boats down to Tioga. After a delay of more than a month at the foot of Lake Otsego, General Clinton with the Third, Fourth and Fifth New York Regiments, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, three companies of artillery and a detachment of Morgan's Rifle Corps received orders from General Sullivan to start south. Hence, on August 9, 1779, the dam was cut, the boats with their heavy loads of supplies were floated on the Susquehanna, and the impatient army started for Tioga. Contrary to expectations, few Indians were encountered on the journey. A number of deserted Indian towns were destroyed together with their gardens and cornfields. On August 19th General Clinton met General Poor, who had been sent forward to meet him, and on August 22d General Clinton's army was welcomed at Tioga with cheers and salvos of artillery. The movement had been executed quickly and without serious mishap.

3 Meanwhile Colonel Daniel Brodhead following instructions had left Fort Pitt on August 11th with 605 "rank and file" to invade the Seneca country and to form a juncture with General Sullivan and General Clinton at some point in the Genesee region. He took one month's provisions, which were forwarded by boat up the Allegheny river. With live stock and pack horses, and accompanied by Delaware Indians as spies and scouts, Colonel Brodhead took his army over a shorter route by land. No fighting occurred on the route except a skirmish with a band of 30 or 40 Indian warriors. The Indian villages on the upper Allegheny river were deserted by the inhabitants just before the arrival of the American troops. A large amount of plunder was secured and then the houses were burned and about 500 acres of corn and vegetables were destroyed. From the indefinite records it is difficult to determine the farthest point reached by Colonel Brodhead's expedition but it seems very probable that the present border line between New York and Pennsylvania was crossed. Both General Sullivan and Colonel Brodhead sent messengers to the other but apparently they did not get through in time to be of service in effecting a union. Brodhead's scouts sent to Sullivan did not return until Brodhead had returned to Fort Pitt. In this state of uncertainty, and many of his men being "barefooted and naked," Colonel Brodhead returned over a different route, destroying more Indian villages as he proceeded, and reaching Fort Pitt on September 14th without loss of either "man or beast."

4 The major force of the expedition was mobilized at Easton, Pa. To that point marched troops from New England, New Jersey, New

York and Pennsylvania. After his appointment as head of the expedition early in March 1779, General Sullivan devoted his time to making preparations for the enterprise. Food supplies had to be assembled to supplement those of General Clinton. The exact route had to be determined. Cattle and horses had to be collected. Boats had to be obtained or built. A road had to be cut over the mountains to Wyoming. On May 7th General Sullivan reached Easton, and soon assembled about 3500 men in three brigades under General Maxwell, General Hand and General Poor. On June 18th General Sullivan moved toward Wyoming, which was reached on June 23d. He had expected to be met there by a fleet of boats laden with supplies but was deeply disappointed. Hence he was delayed at Wyoming for over five weeks while boats and supplies were with much difficulty obtained. It was not until July 31st that the expedition was ready to proceed, and Tioga was reached August 11th. After the juncture with General Clinton's army on August 22d, no time was lost in proceeding forward along the main line of attack.

After rearranging the brigades so as to place regiments under their customary commanders as nearly as could be done, and transferring the supplies from the boats to the 1200 pack horses, the army, delayed one day by rain, started from Tioga on August 26th. The Battle of Newtown occurred near the present city of Elmira on August 29th. It was dramatic but the fatalities on both sides were not large. The Indians and Loyalists were driven from the field and pursued for some distance. The red men were frightened by the cannon, which they called "thunder trees." This victory practically settled the fighting of the whole campaign, for the Indians never made another stand.

From Newtown the army hurried forward through what are now Horseheads and Montour Falls, along the eastern shore of Seneca lake to Geneva, and thence through Canandaigua and Honeoye to old Genesee Castle, the western extremity of the expedition, which was reached on September 14th, less than three weeks after leaving Tioga. The ambush of Boyd and Parker and their companions was the only engagement after Newtown resembling a skirmish. On September 17th, feeling that his orders had been executed, General Sullivan began his return journey over the same route. On the way back parties were sent up both sides of Cayuga lake, and Colonel Gansevoort with a body of troops cut across to Fort Stanwix. On September 30th the expedition reached Tioga.

With the exception of the capture of the forts at Oswego and Niagara the objectives of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign were all realized. The hostile Senecas and Cayugas were terribly punished. Their homes were burned, their vast cornfields and gardens were all

destroyed, and their orchards were cut down or killed. Food supplies upon which the British depended were now unavailable. The frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania felt secure. But the most important result was that now when peace was signed the Americans would have reason for demanding these western lands in which within a few years thousands of settlers were to find new homes.

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign has been criticized for its barbarity and wanton destruction of the homes, gardens and orchards of the Indians. As a matter of historic fact there was little manifestation of cruelty against the Indians by the patriot soldiers. The officers repeatedly took pains to protect women and children. For instance, on the outward march an old squaw was found at Catharine's town. Too feeble to travel she had been left behind by the Indians. She expected to be slain. Instead she was treated kindly by the American troops. A house was built for her and she was supplied with provisions. Upon the return march she greeted the soldiers with a smile of gratitude. General Sullivan from the scanty supplies "left a keg of pork and some biscuit &c. for the old creature to subsist on." Again, Colonel Dearborn in coming up the west side of Cayuga lake found three squaws and a badly crippled Indian boy. He "left one house standing for them to stay in" but two of the Indian women were taken along as prisoners. It was reported that contrary to the officer's orders the old squaw and crippled boy were locked in a house and burned by the soldiers. At Catharine's town a squaw who had been shot several days before was found. The crime was "generally believed" to have been committed by express riders from Tioga. These are the only instances of barbarity committed against Indian women during the whole Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. When one remembers Wyoming, Cherry Valley and other villages on the frontier, it must be said that by marked contrast the American soldiers revealed remarkable self-restraint. Further, there were no examples on the part of the patriots comparable to the tortures of Boyd and Parker.

Considering the magnitude and importance of the expedition, it seems highly appropriate that its sesquicentennial should be observed this year by the Federal Government and the states directly involved. New York has voted $70,000 for observances. The whole route will be marked with appropriate monuments. Pennsylvania will have a series of observances of her own. New York and Pennsylvania will hold joint commemorations to which New Jersey, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, will be invited. The Federal Government has issued a commemorative postage stamp.

A. C. Flick
State Historian

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY
of the
SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN IN 1779

I

Preliminaries

NOTE. See *The American Revolution in New York,* p. 250–65, for a chronology of events in New York from 1765 to 1778. This chronological history has been prepared almost entirely from original sources with the hope that it will show more clearly: (1) the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign as a carefully planned, unified offensive enterprise covering a wide area; (2) the British-Loyalist-Indian defensive movements; and (3) the purpose and results on both sides.

1777

August 6 The battle of Oriskany and the defense of Fort Schuyler, which caused St Leger's army of British, Loyalists and Indians to retreat in confusion (August 22), gave temporary protection to the frontier communities of patriots.

1778

May 25 James Deane reported to General Schuyler that the Indians were divided in their allegiance and that bands of Senecas and Cayugas were on the War Path. *Clinton Papers,* 3:356

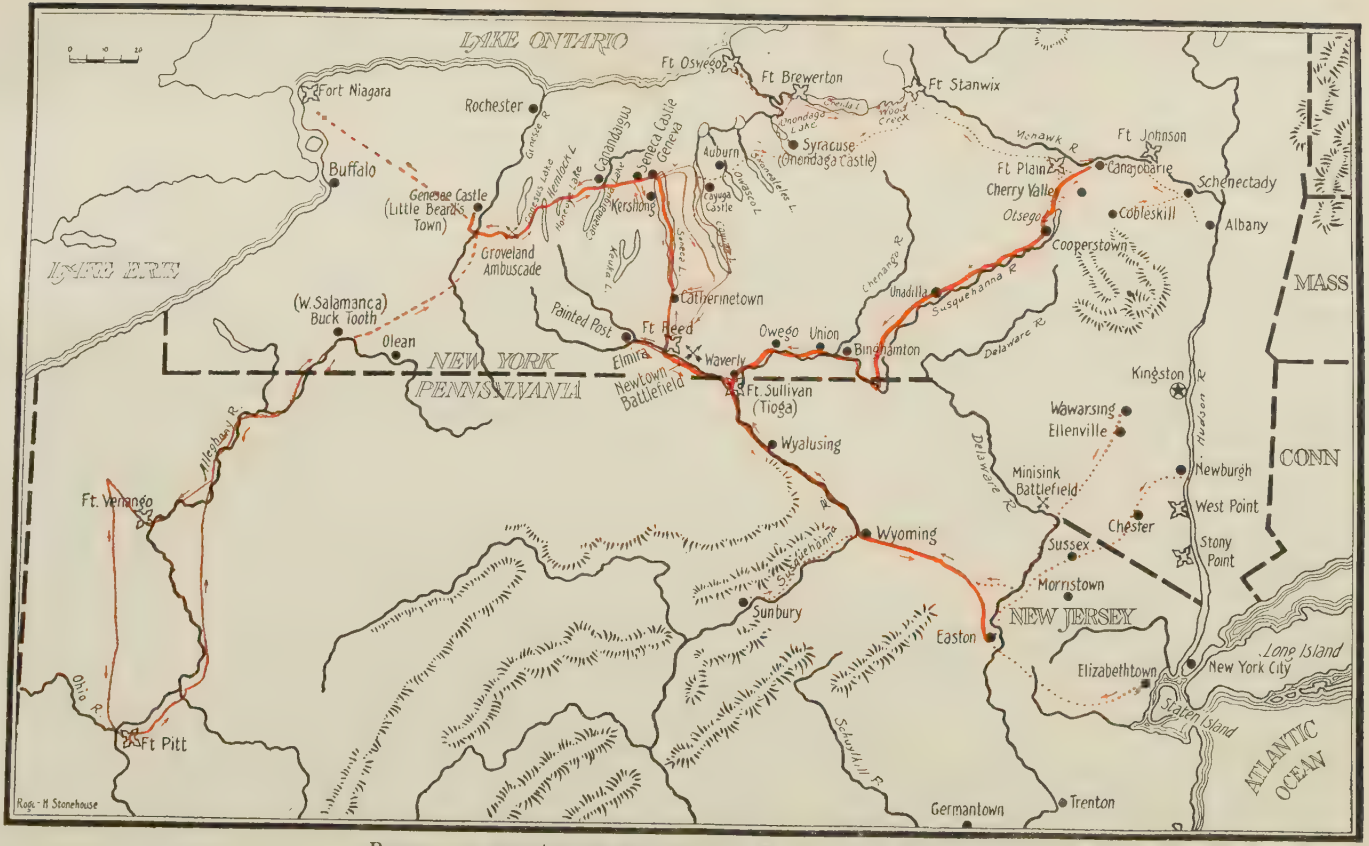
May 30 Cobleskill, a village of 20 homes, was destroyed. *Clinton Papers,* 3:377–78. Albany feared an attack from Loyalists and Indians. *Ibid.,* p. 380. The Mohawk valley in a panic. *Ibid.,* p. 382

June 2 Governor Clinton called for militiamen to protect the frontier. *Clinton Papers,* 3:387

June 11 Congress authorized an "expedition from the Mohawk river to the Seneca country, in order to chastise that insolent and revengeful nation, and to dispossess the enemy from Oswego." General Gates was directed to appoint an officer "to take the most expeditious measures for carrying the war into the Seneca's country, in order to reduce to terms of peace, such of the Six Nations as are hostile." *Jour. Cont. Cong.,* 11:589–90

At the same time the Board of War reported that preparations were being made at Fort Pitt to send troops northward in order that the two armies might "act in concert." *Ibid.,* p. 590

The Board of War estimated that the Indian expedition would cost $932,743. *Ibid.,* p. 614



ROUTES OF THE ARMIES OF SULLIVAN, CLINTON AND BRODHEAD

June 15 James Deane reported to General Schuyler that the Oneidas alone were disposed to be friendly and that an effort to hold a conference with the Six Nations was futile. *Clinton Papers*, 3:457

June 17 Congress voted $600,000 for the expedition. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:614

June 18 Springfield was burned, the men taken prisoners and the live stock driven away. *Clinton Papers*, 3:475

June 19 Andrustown near German Flats was destroyed. *Ibid.*, p. 559

July 3–4 Wyoming valley massacre by Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler and Chief Old King. The patriots led by Colonel Zebulon Butler, Colonel Denison, Lieutenant Colonel Dorrance and Major Garratt defeated.

July 8 Colonel John Butler sent to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton an account of his expedition against Wyoming. Rebels defeated, capture of eight palisaded forts, 1000 dwellings, mills etc. and cattle, sheep and swine. *Can. Arch., Hald, Coll.*, B 100:38

July 25 Because of the "late incursion at Wyoming" by "the Senecas and some other tribes of the Six Nations aided by tories and other banditti" Congress ordered the expedition to be "forwarded with all possible dispatch." *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:721

July 28 General Schuyler wrote Washington about the actions of Congress on June 11. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 1:698

August 2 Washington asked General Horatio Gates for information about the "proposed expedition against the Senecas." *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 1:702; and wrote to Morgan Lewis August 5. *Ibid.*, p. 703

August 3 Washington reported to Congress about the expedition against the Indians. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:829

August 4 General Haldimand reported to Lord George Germain the activities of the Five Nations and the rangers under Colonel John Butler against the rebels on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 54:12

August 22 Congress considered an additional $332,743 for the Indian campaign. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:827. But on the recommendation of the Board of War ordered that the expedition against the Senecas and other hostile tribes "be for the present laid aside." *Ibid.*, p. 829

September 3 Congress approved the recommendation of the Board of War and directed Washington to defend the frontiers in the best way he could. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:829

September 17 Colonel Jacob Klock reported that German Flats was laid waste for ten miles along the Mohawk river and an attack made on Fort Dayton. *Clinton Papers*, 4:47

October 6 Sir John Johnson wrote to Colonel John Carleton [*sic*] that he was collecting Indians against the rebels and hoped to give them "an eternal thrashing." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:60

October 15 Governor Clinton urged Washington to invade the Indian country. *Clinton Papers*, 4:163

October 22 Governor Clinton, General Schuyler and General Hand reported to Washington on the expediency of an expedition against the Indians at Chemung. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 1:809

November 11 Colonel Bolton wrote from Niagara that Joseph Brant had gone toward Minisink. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:69

November 11–12. Attack on Cherry Valley by 700 Loyalists and Indians led by Captain Walter N. Butler and Captain Joseph Brant. *Clinton Papers*, 4:286

November 13 General Hand reported the massacre to Washington. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:844

November 17 Governor Clinton reported to Washington and to Congress about the massacre and hurried up to Albany to render aid to the stricken patriots. *Clinton Papers*, 4:289

November 17 Captain Butler reported that he had burned the settlement of Unadilla and carried off prisoners and cattle. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:82

November 20 Washington ordered General James Clinton to cooperate with General Hand in defending the frontier. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:856–58

November 21 Congress listened to a letter from Washington describing the needs of frontier protection. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 12:1149

November 24 General Schuyler and General Hand advised Washington to make a winter attack on the Indians as the best means of defending the frontier. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:865

November 28 General James Clinton and General Hand reported to Washington that a winter campaign seemed impracticable. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:869

December 2 William Harper reported to Governor Clinton the results of the attack on Cherry Valley—33 inhabitants and 11 soldiers killed; two inhabitants and one soldier wounded; 34 inhabitants and 19 soldiers captured or missing (45 having been "sent back"); 32 houses, 32 barns, two mills and one smith shop burned; and live stock and food supplies all seized. *Clinton Papers*, 4:410

December 14 Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt wrote Governor Clinton that Washington had just appointed General Hand to command all the troops on the frontier north of Wyoming. *Ibid.*, p. 370

December 23 Governor Clinton promised to do all in his power to protect the people on the frontier. *Ibid.*, p. 415

December 24 Governor Tryon wrote to Lord George Germain recommending that "the Indian Nations lying between Quebec and West Florida be let loose on the Frontiers of the revolted Colonies, unrestrained, excepting to women and children." *Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:755

1779

January 11 Sir Henry Clinton regarded the attack on Cherry Valley as of sufficient importance to report it to Lord George Germain.

January 31 Washington wrote to General McIntosh at Fort Pitt about the proposed expedition against the Six Nations and asked for information. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:912

February 4 General Schuyler sent Washington suggestions concerning an attack on the Iroquois. *Ibid.*, p. 913

February 14 Colonel John Butler wrote General Haldimand that with the exception of "the greatest part of the Oneidas . . . Indians in general have given the strongest assurance that they are determined to the last to persevere in the part they have taken, and never to come to terms with the rebels." "Most of the Indians have been in to receive their clothing and presents." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:92

February 15 Washington again asked General McIntosh for advice about routes, transportation, canoes etc. for the proposed expedition against the Indians. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:920

February 25 Congress authorized Washington to plan and execute the expedition. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 13:251

February 28 Washington asked General Hand for similar information about the "Indian expedition." *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:928

March 1 Washington requested Colonel William Patterson at Sunbury, Pa., to collect data about the "Indian Expedition." *Ibid.*, p. 929

March 1 General Schuyler sent Washington answers to questions about the Indian country. He recommended a force of 3000 men; the Seneca towns as the objective; light artillery and horses; the best routes and season; provisions; forts; spies etc. *Ibid.*, p. 930

March 6 Washington offered the command of the expedition to General Gates "as senior officer" but in case he declined the honor, inclosed a letter to General John Sullivan asking him to assume the leadership. Gates curtly declined and Sullivan accepted. For letters, see Sparks, *Washington*, 6:187

March 13 The Legislature of New York ordered 1000 men to be recruited to defend the frontiers and forts to be built on the border. *N. Y. Laws*, 1:136

April 1 Congress commended the "spirited exertions" of New York and ordered the militiamen put on Continental pay. *Jour. Cont. Cong.* 13:402; *Clinton Papers*, 4:690

April 2 Colonel John Butler to General Haldimand: "The Senecas, Delawares and others have been very active during the winter. Parties of them have been constantly out all along the Frontiers." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:116

April 16 General Sullivan, who immediately after his appointment to command gave his undivided attention to the campaign, reported to Washington his ideas about the route, troops, supplies etc. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:977

April 19 Washington continued to write to military leaders who could furnish reliable information about the enterprise, and ordered General James Clinton to plan the mobilization of his regiments at Canajoharie. *Ibid.*, p. 931, 980, 981

April 29 Washington summarized the information he had gathered from many sources and sent it to General Sullivan. *Ibid.*, p. 995

May 4 Washington sent general instructions to General Sullivan. *Ibid.*, p. 1002

May 7 General Sullivan reached Easton, Pa., and took active charge of the organization of the main body of troops and of supplies. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Craft*), p. 342

May 8 General Sullivan reported to Washington: "I will do everything in my power to set the wheels in motion and make the necessary preparations for the army to move. . . . The expedition is no secret in this quarter. . . . I think the sooner we can get into the [Indian] country the better." *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1009

NOTE. Leaving General Sullivan engaged with his difficult task at Easton, the chronological history of the three lateral phases of the campaign will be given before following his activities further.

II

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS

1779

As preparations proceeded for the Indian expedition General Schuyler saw that it would be hazardous to invade the country of the Senecas and Cayugas with the hostile Onondagas on the right flank of the army. Hence, apparently, he and General James Clinton decided to intimidate the Onondaga nation and thus render it powerless before the main expedition started.

April 2 Colonel John Butler to General Haldimand: The Onondagas, who were still friendly to the king, were urged "to come off, and bring their Council Fire with them, to some place among the Senecas and Cayugas, there to resettle and rekindle their Fire." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:116

April 3 General Schuyler explained to Washington the proposed invasion of the Onondaga territory. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:966

April 6 General Clinton issued his orders for the invasion of the Onondaga country. Troops from the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys were hurried to Fort Stanwix then in command of Colonel Goose Van Schaick. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 16; *Clinton Papers*, 4:702

April 8 General Haldimand, writing to Colonel Butler, attributed the rebels' success in debauching the savages, particularly the Onondagas, to "the Oneidas who are much attached to their interest." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:120

April 8 General Clinton reported to Washington what had been done, and told Governor Clinton that under Colonel Van Schaick and Lieutenant Colonel Willett 500 men had "just marched" to surprise and destroy Onondaga Castle and to take as many prisoners as possible. *Clinton Papers*, 4:702; *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:970

April 13 The troops from down the valley reached Fort Stanwix. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 16

April 18 The 60 Oneida and Tuscarora warriors were started out northward under the command of white officers for an independent invasion. *Ibid.*, p. 16. This invasion was carried to Oswegatchie. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 120:8; Stone, *Brant*, 1:404; Simms, *Schoharie County*, p. 574. Thirty boatloads of "stores" arrived at Fort Stanwix from Schenectady. *Sull. Ind. Exp.*, (*Beatty*), p. 16

April 19 Colonel Van Schaick with 558 officers and men went down Wood creek and across Lake Oneida, leaving their boats at Fort Brewerton. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 16; *ibid.* (*Machin*), p. 192; *Clinton Papers*, 4:703

April 20 They crossed by land to Onondaga lake. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 16

April 21 They marched up Onondaga creek to the Indian villages. Forty to 50 houses were burned; 17 Indians were killed; 33 Indians and one white man taken prisoners; and the live stock, food supplies, guns and ammunition which could not be carried away by the soldiers as plunder were destroyed. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 16; *ibid.* (*Machin*), p. 193; *Clinton Papers*, 4:703, 777

April 22 Colonel Van Schaick led the troops back to their boats and camped for the night on Frenchman's island in Lake Oneida. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 17; *ibid.* (*Machin*), p. 193; *Clinton Papers*, 4:777

April 24 The army reached Fort Schuyler having covered 180 miles in five days and a half without the loss of a single man. Colonel Van Schaick reported the success to General Schuyler. L. C., *Letters to Wash.*, 32:272. This report is practically identical with Machin's journal in *Sull. Ind. Exp.*

April 27 General Schuyler reported the success of the expedition against the Onondagas to Washington. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:992

April 29 General Clinton made a similar report. *Mag. of Hist.*, 24:125

April (?) Colonel Butler reported damage done to the Onondagas. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:134

May 2 Governor Clinton expressed to General Clinton his joy over the "late and very fortunate and successful expedition against the Onondagas." *Ibid.*, p. 126

May 9 Washington offered his congratulations to Colonel Van Schaick and his men. *Cal. Wash Corr.*, 2:1010. The next day he sent his thanks to General Schuyler. *Ibid.*, p. 1011

May 14 Washington conveyed the thanks of Congress to Colonel Van Schaick and his men. *Ibid.*, p. 1017; *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 14:567

May 15 Brehm wrote Haldimand from Niagara that Van Schaick's invasion had so alarmed the Indians that it was difficult to persuade them to assist one another. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 99:67

May 28 Washington advised General Clinton about making peace with the Onondagas. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1033

III

THE BRODHEAD EXPEDITION

1779

March 22 Washington ordered Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who was at Fort Frederic, Md., to proceed to Fort Pitt to prepare for an Indian invasion and to gather all the important information he could. Sparks, *Washington*, 6:205

April 21 Washington seemed to have abandoned an excursion northward from Fort Pitt. Sparks, *Washington*, 6:224

May 3 Washington again instructed Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt to cooperate in the Indian expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1000

May 26 Colonel Brodhead wished General Sullivan great success with the "black caitiffs of the North." *Cal. Greene Corr.*, p. 64

May 28 Onondagas fled to the Senecas. *Can. Arch., Hald Coll.*, B 100:180

July 17 Colonel Brodhead announced to his absent officers that he expected "to make a diversion in favor of General Sullivan's Expedition" on August 1st. *Pa. Arch., 1st ser.*, 12:138

July 20 Congress voted $6000 to pay the regiment of Colonel Brodhead who was "on his march to the western country." *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:706

August 6 Colonel Brodhead informed General Sullivan that he would set out "in three or four days" on an "expedition against the Seneca towns" on the Allegheny and asked that their movements might "operate in favor of each other." He would be very happy "to open a correspondence" with General Sullivan as Washington directed but doubted whether there was time "to form an useful cooperation." *Pa. Arch., 1st ser.*, 12:154

August 11 Colonel Brodhead with 605 rank and file and one month's provision started northward. The supplies were sent up the river by boat while the men with the cattle and pack horses started overland. He took along a dozen Delaware Indians as spies and scouts. *Pa. Arch., 1st ser.*, 12:155; *Sull. Ind. Exp. (Brodhead)*, p. 307

August 15 A skirmish occurred with about 40 Indians who were coming down the river in canoes. *Ibid.*, p. 307

August 16 Buckloons was reached where a crude fort was built and left in charge of a captain and 40 men. *Ibid.*, p. 308

August 18 The upper Seneca towns surrounded by the finest cornfields and vegetable gardens were reached. Three entire days were

devoted to the destruction of the houses and the crops. *Ibid.*, p. 308. The New York State line was probably crossed before the northern limit of the excursion was reached.

———— Two soldiers were sent across country to General Sullivan and he sent messengers to Colonel Brodhead but apparently none of them got through in time to be of service. *Ibid.*, p. 309

August 25 Colonel Brodhead began the return journey by the Venango road past the towns of Cowawago, Buckloons and Mahusquechikoken, the latter an Indian village of 35 large houses which were also burned. *Ibid.*, p. 308

August 26 Lieutenant William Barton wrote: "This day received information that Colonel Brodhead, with 600 troops, was within 40 miles of Seneca Castle, and had destroyed almost one whole tribe of Indians by strategem; he painted his men like Indians, with cutting their hair, etc." Dearborn states that the messengers arrived at Tioga on August 25th. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Barton*), p. 7; *ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 71

September 14 The expedition returned to Pittsburgh laden with plunder valued at $30,000 which was divided among the soldiers and officers. "Neither man nor beast" was lost, but the men were almost destitute of shoes and clothing. *Ibid.*, p. 308

September 16 Colonel Brodhead made his report to Washington. At Pittsburgh the soldiers sent to General Sullivan returned with a letter from him which was forwarded in copy to Washington. *Ibid.*, p. 307–9

September 23 Colonel Brodhead sent his report to the Board of War and it was presented to Congress on October 12th. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1162

October 20 Washington in a letter to Lafayette praised Colonel Brodhead for the success of his expedition. Sparks, *Washington*, 6:384; *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1159

October 27 Congress thanked Washington for "directing" and Colonel Brodhead for "executing the important expedition" against the Senecas on the Allegheny river. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1213

IV

GENERAL CLINTON'S EXPEDITION FROM THE MOHAWK TO TIOGA

1778

October 21 Governor Clinton expected his "Brother's whole Brigade [was for] frontier service." *Clinton Papers*, 4:101

November 27 Washington informed Congress that "Clinton's Brigade of New York troops" was stationed at Albany. *Ibid.*, p. 333. He

was deeply interested in the sufferings of the frontiersmen and sought to afford them relief. *Ibid.*, p. 335, 337, 363, 389, 415, 417, 420

December 31 Washington wrote General Clinton that, if General Schuyler would consent to reenter military service, Clinton should place himself under Schuyler's command. *Mag. of Hist.*, 24:119

1779

March 20 Governor Clinton notified General Clinton of the threatened Indian outbreak on the frontier. *Clinton Papers*, 4:652. Conference with General Ten Broeck and General Schuyler over the situation. *Ibid.*, p. 655. They advised against a winter attack. *Ibid.*, p. 663

April 19 Washington informed General Clinton as "a profound secret" that the rendezvous for the troops for the Indian expedition should be Canajoharie. This was because from that place the troops could either be sent directly west into the territory of the Six Nations or hurried southward to join General Sullivan at Tioga. Clinton was directed to have batteaus of the lightest kind built and wagons for their conveyance at Canajoharie. Shoes were also to be obtained if possible. *Mag. of Hist.*, 24:124

April 24 Governor Clinton informed General Schuyler that the troops would assemble at Canajoharie on May 12th by Washington's order. *Clinton Papers*, 4:751

April 29 General Clinton wrote Washington about preparations for the Indian Expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:995

May — During May and June General Clinton was occupied in gathering supplies and in having the boats built at Schenectady and taken up to Canajoharie. The brigade numbering 1600 men was mobilized at that point, and included the 3d, 4th and 5th New York, 6th Massachusetts, 4th Pennsylvania, a detachment of Morgan's Rifle Corps, a detachment of Lamb's Artillery, a company of Volunteers under Captain Harper, and a body of Oneida Indians.

May 4 Washington sent general directions to General Sullivan about the Indian expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1002

May 10 General Sullivan informed General Greene that everything was in good order except "a sufficiency of pack-saddles." *Cal. Greene Corr.*, p. 146

May 24 Washington ordered General Clinton to place himself under General Sullivan. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1028

May 26 General Sullivan promised Washington full cooperation with General Clinton. *Ibid.*, 2:1032

May 28 Washington informed General Clinton of preparation of Indian expedition. *Ibid.*, p. 1033. General Clinton wrote to Washington from Albany about Indian expedition. *Ibid.*, p. 1034

May 28 Washington hoped that General Clinton had "everything in readiness at Canajoharie . . . to execute without delay the order you shall receive from General Sullivan." *Letters of George Washington to George and James Clinton* (N. Y. 1906), p. 38

May 31 Washington gave specific instructions to General Sullivan to cooperate with General Clinton; to destroy the Indian country; to seize Fort Niagara; to make peace proposals. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1040

June 10 Still undetermined whether Clinton was to move west or south. *Letters of George Washington to George and James Clinton* (N. Y. 1906), p. 40. That decision Washington left in Sullivan's hands. General Clinton was ordered to be prepared to move suddenly either westward or southward. *Ibid.*, p. 41. Washington cautioned General Sullivan to cooperate with General Clinton. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1053

June 11 General Sullivan sent orders to General Clinton to prepare to take his army from Canajoharie to Tioga. *Clinton Papers*, 5:86

June 14 General Clinton received orders from General Sullivan to join his army at Tioga. He was to take no pack horses but to transport his baggage and supplies by boat. Bleeker, *Order Book*, p. 28

June 15 General Clinton left Albany for Canajoharie. *Ibid.*, p. 87. Washington continued to urge General Sullivan to make cooperation with Clinton certain. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1055

June 17 Advance regiments leave Canajoharie. *Sull. Ind. Exp. (Beatty)*, p. 18; *Jour. of Robert Parker*, under June 18

June 21 Washington informed General Sullivan that Colonel Pawling with a part of his command would join General Clinton at Onoquaga and that Governor Clinton himself had intended to conduct this movement (Colonel Pawling's) but that he had advised the governor "to decline the command." Sparks, *Washington*, 6:275

June 24 Recorded that "500 waggons going steady" were taking boats and provisions to the lake. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (McKendry), p. 199

June 26 During the latter part of June the boats and provisions were carted over the hills from Canajoharie to Lake Otsego and taken by water down to the foot of the lake. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1061

July 1 Governor Clinton notified Washington that Colonel Pawling had been ordered to be ready at a moment's notice to march to form a juncture with General Clinton. *Letters of George Washington to George and James Clinton*, p. 44

July 1 General Clinton left Canajoharie and went to Lake Otsego. *Clinton Papers*, 5:122. Here the army remained for more than a month awaiting orders from General Sullivan to proceed. A dam was built across the mouth of the lake in order to get a head of water to float the boats down the Susquehanna river. Bleeker, *Order Book*, p. 31

July 1 Washington alarmed about Clinton's "useless transportation of supplies." *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1065

July 2 General Clinton reached Lake Otsego, and there he waited for more than five weeks for orders from General Sullivan to move. *Sull. Ind. Exp. (McKendry)*, p. 200

July 5 Washington showed solicitude about Sullivan's juncture with Clinton. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1065

July 10 General Sullivan informed Washington that Clinton had been ordered to bring three months' supplies. *Ibid.*, p. 1073

July 11 General Sullivan wrote General Clinton that he had been "disappointed and delayed respecting Provisions and Stores in the most surprising manner." He expected to reach Tioga by the time Clinton marched so all would be ready to move up to protect him. *Clinton Papers*, 5:149

July 20 Minisink attacked and burned by Indians and Tories under Brant. *Clinton Papers*, 5:150

July 20 General Clinton wrote that he was "most anxious" for marching orders from General Sullivan. *Ibid.*, p. 148

July 22 Battle of Minisink. *Ibid.*, 5:160, 162, 164, 180

July 23 An Indian from Fort Stanwix reported "that 1400 Indians and Tories were collected to intercept our march down the river." *Sull. Ind. Exp. (McKendry)*, p. 200. Colonel Butler knew that at Lake Otsego there were 2000 American soldiers and 200 boats with provisions. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:153

July 24 From Fort Wallace John McDonnell was watching the movements of General Sullivan and reporting to Colonel Butler. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:157

July 29 An express brought the news that the enemy had been discovered near Fort Stanwix. *Sull. Ind. Exp. (McKendry)*, p. 201

July 29 Brant's report of Minisink attack on villages and fort and subsequent battle. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:212

July 30 Governor Clinton complained that the delay of the Sullivan Expedition was responsible for the exposed condition of the frontier. *Clinton Papers*, 5:164

July 30 General Sullivan wrote General Clinton from Wyoming that he was to set out from Lake Otsego on August 9th and Governor Clinton sent General Clinton the same information. *Clinton Papers*, 5:178, 180

August 4 Above order received from General Sullivan by General Clinton. *Ibid.*, p. 183

August 5 General Clinton wrote Governor Clinton that he would move his army by Sullivan's order on August 9th; Colonel Pawling was expected at Onoquaga on the 16th; boats repaired by the carpenters. *Ibid.*, p. 183

August 5 Governor Clinton ordered Colonel Pawling to march in time to meet General Clinton at Onoquaga. *Ibid.*, p. 182

August 8 All the boats were loaded and the dam broken in the evening to flood the river. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*McKendry*), p. 201

August 9 The troops on boats and by foot made 30 miles by water and 16 by land. Stopped at Culley's farm. *Ibid.* (*McKendry*), p. 201. Burris' or Burrows' farm. *Ibid.* (*Van Hovenburgh*), p. 277; *ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 22; *Jour. of Robert Parker*

August 10 Proceeded to Yorkums (Joachim Van Valkenburgh) farm, eight miles by water and five miles by land. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*McKendry*), p. 201

August 12 Clinton burned the Scotch settlement of Tories at Albout, which was five miles from Unadilla. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 23

August 14 At Onoquaga a fine Indian village was burned, and cornfields and orchards destroyed. Expected Colonel Pawling with 500 militia but the regiment sent out to meet them "saw nothing of them." *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 23

August 15 Washington again cautioned Sullivan to make sure of union with Clinton. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1111

August 17 General Clinton left Onoquaga after firing a cannon to warn the militia; burnt Ingaren, a Tuscarora village of six houses. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 24; Bleeker, *Order Book*, p. 100. Found a war post and a boat painted on the rocks. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*McKendry*), p. 202

August 18 Destroyed town of Chenango, partly burned previous year. Met by two runners from General Poor saying that General Sullivan "lay at the mouth of the Tyoga." *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 24

August 19 Met General Poor's army and camped at Owego. Burned the town the next day. Detained by rain. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 24; *ibid.* (*McKendry*), p. 202

August 22 Reached Tioga and saluted by 13 cannon. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 25. No loss of life on the expedition, but lost ammunition in the river August 21st. *Ibid.* (*McKendry*), p. 203

V

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION

1779

May 8 General Hand at Wyoming. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Jenkins*), p. 169

May 15 Colonel Butler, Joseph Brant and the Canadian Indians at Niagara. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 99:67

May 17 General Poor joined his army at Newburgh and reached Easton on 26th. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Gookin*), p. 102

May 20 Walter Butler wrote from Niagara to General Haldimand that his father, Colonel Butler, with his corps was at Canadasaga among the Senecas watching the enemy's motions. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:129

May 26 Washington ordered General Sullivan to "cooperate" with General Clinton. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1032. This order was repeated a number of times. *Ibid.*, p. 1040, 1053, 1055, 1068, 1111

May 28 The attack on the Onondagas made it necessary for the British to march into the Indian country to reassure the Indians. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:135

June 1 Washington ordered General Sullivan forward on the expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1043

June 18 After making preparations, assembling troops and arranging for supplies from May 7th, General Sullivan started his expedition from Easton, Pa., "with all the pack horses etc." six cannon and two howitzers. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Elmer*), p. 60. Camped at the foot of Blue mountain. The gun was fired at 3 a. m. at Easton, and between 5 and 6 o'clock the expedition started.

June 19 The army was astir at 4 a. m. and proceeded to Brinker's Mills and through the Wind gap to Learned's log tavern, the last house on the frontier—28 miles from Easton. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Elmer*), p. 80

June 19 Washington arranged to have Stockbridge and Scatacoke Indians assist General Sullivan. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1056, 1067

ROUTES OF THE ARMIES OF
GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN
AND
GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
1779
EXPEDITION AGAINST THE HOSTILE INDIAN
NATIONS WHICH CHECKED THE AGGRESSIONS OF
THE ENGLISH AND INDIANS ON THE FRONTIERS
OF NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA EXTENDING
WESTWARD THE DOMINION OF THE UNITED STATES
ERECTED BY THE
STATE OF NEW YORK

THE SULLIVAN–CLINTON MARKER

Thirty-five of these tablets have been placed along the routes of march of the Armies

June 20 Over the Pocano mountains along the newly cut road. Joined by Missionary Samuel Kirkland. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Elmer*), p. 80

June 21 Through the Great swamp and the Bear swamp. Broken wagons and tired horses. *Ibid.*, p. 80

June 23 Reached fort at Wyoming, 58 miles from Easton, where several regiments were encamped. *Ibid.*, p. 81. There General Sullivan expected adequate supplies. The salted meat was unfit to eat. There were inadequate quantities of shoes and clothing. Some of the cattle were too poor to walk. What was still worse, the 720 Rangers expected did not show up. Under these conditions the commander set about at once to supply his army with the necessary stores and the means for its transportation. This task consumed six weeks. Meanwhile criticism arose about the delay. There was danger that the expedition would be abandoned. For a description of Wyoming, see *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 146, under date of July 30th.

June 24 Heard that 400 Indians held a war council at Chemung. *Ibid.* (*Elmer*), p. 81

June 28 Army deeply impressed by ruins left by Wyoming massacre. "A dance on ye green in the evening." *Ibid.* (*Elmer*), p. 81

June 29 General Sullivan reported to Washington the problems of stores and boats which delayed the expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1063, 1073. From Sunbury arrived 34 boats with flour, beef and military stores. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Elmer*), p. 81

July 1 It was rumored that the British were sending reinforcements into the Indian country. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1066. One Tory hanged and another "pardoned under the Gallows." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 64; *ibid.* (*Elmer*), p. 81

July 3 Colonel Butler reported the expedition against Niagara with details of troops and said that Indians were collecting to oppose it. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:200

July 4 Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence celebrated by sermons by Mr Hunter and Mr Kirkland; 30 boats went down the river to get provisions. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 64; *ibid.* (*Elmer*), p. 82

July 5 Dinner given by General Hand and "13 toasts were drunk." *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 64

July 8 Lord George Germain wrote General Haldimand that Brant was operating on the Susquehanna and Delaware. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 43:155

July 9 Colonel Hubley's regiment and 43 boatloads of provisions arrived at Wyoming. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Elmer*), p. 82

July 15 Officers played Shinney. *Ibid.* (*Elmer*), p. 83

July 17 The army learned that General Wayne had captured Stony Point. *Ibid.* (*G. Grant*), p. 109

July 21 Colonel John Butler reported that the "considerable quantity of cattle in the Indian Country" had been consumed by the Indians themselves. The Indians had been so widely employed on excursions in the summer of 1778 "that they did not cultivate the usual quantity." What they did plant "was destroyed" so that many families had not had an ear of corn all winter. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:143

July 24 Seventy boats with stores and provisions arrived from Sunbury. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 65

July 28 Colonel Reid arrived with 80 waggons and provisions from Easton. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 65

July 30 General Sullivan wrote: "Tomorrow we march." There was still "scarcely a coat or blanket for every seventh man" and the supplies were far from adequate. "A very severe campaign I expect we shall have" wrote Colonel Dearborn. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 65

July 31 "About one o'clock p. m." the army left Wyoming for Tioga while Colonel Proctor commanded the fleet of 214 boats. Colonel Zebulon Butler with 123 officers and men was left in charge of the garrison at Wyoming. About 1200 pack horses and 800 beef cattle were part of the procession, two miles long. Camped at Lackawanna. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 68; *ibid.* (*Gookin*), p. 104. Order of march. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 147

August 4 Washington sent General Sullivan his best wishes for the success of the expedition. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1105

August 5 Army reached Wyalusing, 53 miles from Wyoming. General Sullivan unwell. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 69; *ibid.* (*Elmer*), 84; *ibid.* (*T. Grant*), p. 138

August 8 Passed Standing Stone "twenty feet in height, fourteen feet in width and three feet in depth." *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 149

August 11 Colonel Butler from Canadasaga wrote Captain Butler that the chiefs desired all Indians about Niagara to hurry down "marching night and day." Also as many of the garrison as could be spared should be sent. Ammunition and moccasins were wanted. Four or five boats were to be sent for use on the Genesee river. *Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16-2:114

August 11 Army reached Queen Esther's Plantation after fording the river at the junction of the Tioga and Susquehanna rivers. Forded the west branch and reached Tioga. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 69; *ibid.* (*G. Grant*), p. 109; *ibid.* (*T. Grant*), p. 139

August 12 General Sullivan ordered a fort and four blockhouses to be built for the security of the fleet and stores. In the evening most of the army was hurried up the western branch (Tioga) to attack the Indians at their chief village of Chemung, twelve miles distant. *Ibid.* (*Gookin*), p. 104

August 13 About sunrise "upwards of 30 buildings" were burned. The Indians were pursued by General Hand. In a skirmish with about 50 Indians three officers and six men were killed and seven more wounded. About 40 acres of corn were cut down and destroyed at which work one more soldier was killed and five wounded by Indians and Tories. Tioga was reached about sunset. *Ibid.* (*Fellows*), p. 87; *ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 151

August 15 General Sullivan sent Washington an account of the destruction of Chemung. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1111, 1117. Washington wrote Congress a long letter correcting misstatements made by General Sullivan. Ford, *Washington*, 8:8. One of the "drivers scalped and another wounded." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 92.

August 16 Generals Poor and Hand with 900 "chosen men" marched to meet General Clinton. Two days later General Poor burned 20 Indian houses and heard a cannon fired by General Clinton in the evening. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 153

August 16 Colonel Butler reported the arrival of the Americans at Tioga. The Six Nations were in a "disagreeable situation" and uncertain as to "how to meet the rebels who were advancing on all sides." The Indians were asking for troops to help them. *Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q-1:360

August 19 Union of armies of General Poor and General Clinton. "Mutual Congratulations and Compliments," Indian town of Owego burned as a bonfire. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 71

August 22 Generals Clinton and Poor saluted with thirteen cannon and Proctor's band. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 25; *ibid.* (*various other journals*)

August 23 Captain Kimball of New Hampshire accidentally killed. Decided to leave a garrison of 250 men under Colonel Israel Shreve of the 2d New Jersey Regiment, together with the boatmen, at Fort Sullivan. *Ibid.* (*Rogers*), p. 264. Major Fogg says "One

man was killed and several wounded, but it is uncertain whether by the enemy or our own men as the fire was very irregular." He may refer only to his own military unit. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 92. About 1200 men, women and children at the Fort. *Ibid.*, p. 265. Brigades reorganized. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 153

August 24 "Universal hurry" in preparing for the march. Tents cut up to make bags to carry flour. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 93. Tents struck and horses loaded. *Ibid.* (*W. Rogers*), p. 264

August 25 March delayed; visit of three friendly Oneida Indians to serve as guides; heavy rain; an express stated that Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt had marched with troops and Indian guides "with an intention of forming a junction with General Sullivan near Genesee." *Ibid.* (*W. Rogers*), p. 264. Two runners arrived from Colonel Brodhead stating that he was on his way "against the western Indians." *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 71; *ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 94; *ibid.* (*Jenkins*), p. 171

August 26 Colonel Butler wrote from Chucknut that he expected an engagement with the Americans who were "12 miles off." The force reported all Continental, the best they have. The Indians were determined to make a stand at Cayuga lake. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:232

August 26 "Late in the forenoon" the great Indian expedition started up the Tioga river. "Many articles" were sent in boats. "Twenty-seven days provision only." Dr William Rogers, chaplain, expected a sudden return without "effecting much." His wishes were counterbalanced by his fears. The army moved about three miles. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*W. Rogers*), p. 265. Took along nine pieces of artillery. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 94

August 26 The army "consisted of Clintons, Maxwells, Poors & Hand's Brigades, with Col. Proctors Regt of artillery 4 6-pounders—4 3(-pounders), 1 8-inch Howitzer, 1 5½(-inch) & 1 Cohorn. Genl Hands Brigade being light troops marched by its left in 6 columns & formed the front; with a Captain and 30 men from the line on each flank. Major Pratt (Parr) with 100 riflemen advanced in front of Hand; Maxwells & Poors marched by their left & formed two columns Poor the right and Maxwell the left. Clinton's marched in two columns by its left and formed the rear of the army. Col. Dubois & 200 men the right flank; Col. Ogden & 200 men the left, Col. Conway & 100 men covering party for the whole. The provision, ammunition, Baggage, artillery &c. in the centre." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Shute*), p. 271, footnote

August 26 "The army took up the line of its march into an unknown country, through leagues of unbroken forests, into the very heart of the enemy's territory, relying on their own valor alone for success, without hope of relief or of reinforcements, or, in case of defeat, of any quarter. It was an expedition in which not only peculiar hardships might be expected, but it was one without scarcely a parallel in the world's history for the boldness of its design, and the courage with which it was undertaken. To transport an army with its equipments and supplies, through an uncivilized country without roads, for much of the way without water communication, to cut loose from their base of supplies and communications, to be shut up for weeks from the intelligence of the world, where to fall was to die, and ordinarily to die by torture, was an example of heroic bravery which the world has seldom witnessed. Sherman's march to the sea has received and justly merits the applause of men for its daring and its success; but this expedition was far more daring, and if the loss of life and the ends secured by it, be taken into the account, equally as successful in its execution, and deserves first rank among the great military movements in our country's history." *Ibid.* (*Craft*), p. 357

August 27 Marched five miles and destroyed a cornfield of 100 acres. *Ibid.* (*Shute*), p. 271. At places a road had to be cleared for the artillery and ammunition waggons. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 71. Scouts reported "a large incampment of the enemy about 4 miles from Chemong." *Ibid.* (*Fellows*), p. 87.

August 27 Congress "Resolved, That the plan prepared by General Washington for conducting the western expedition is . . . wise and judicious; that the measures he has taken for the execution of it are proper and prudent; and that Congress are perfectly satisfied with the General's conduct relative to the same." *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 14:1004

August 28 Scouts sent up the mountain to locate fires of the enemy. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 94; *ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 155

August 29 The battle of Newtown occurred. This day (Sunday) the army was in motion early but exercised caution. Scarcely had two miles been covered when Indian scouts were discovered in front of them and across the river. After moving forward two more miles, scouts saw the enemy's fortifications built of logs, stones and earth and masked by cut green oak trees near the Indian village of Newtown. In front of the line of fortifications were a few log cabins which served as bastions. The Indians,

Tories and British were concentrated at the angle in the fortifications with a thin line running to the right and left. Higher up on the ridge a force was placed to repulse any attempted flank movement. On the summit back of the fortified line and on a hill across the river were observers to watch the movements of the Americans.

The British plan of battle was (1) to pour a deadly fire into the exposed flank of Sullivan's army; and (2) to send two groups to the rear of his army to stampede the cattle and pack horses. It was thus hoped to either destroy Sullivan's army or cripple its resources so that the expedition would be abandoned. This strategy seems to have been developed by Colonel John Butler, his son Captain Walter N. Butler, Captain John MacDonnell, the Mohawk warrior Captain Joseph Brant, and other prominent Indian chiefs. Their forces consisted of a few regular British soldiers, two Loyalist battalions of reliable Rangers and a large number of Indians, chiefly of the Seneca, Cayuga and Mohawk nations.

As the Americans proceeded up the Chemung valley with General Hand's brigade leading, they were on the lookout for the foe. The advance guard discovered the enemy about 11 a. m. General Hand ordered his riflemen to form about a thousand feet from the enemy and hold their position until the rest of the brigade could be brought up. The Indians and Tory Rangers made a number of sorties—rushing out, firing and retreating—hoping to lure the patriots into ambush, but failed. Hand meanwhile hurried up his whole brigade to support the advance guard, and notified General Sullivan of his action.

General Sullivan called his generals to a council to agree upon a plan of attack: (1) the artillery to be placed on a ridge 300 yards from the angle of the enemy's fortified line so as to enfilade his lines and to command the space behind; (2) General Hand to support the artillery with part of his troops and to threaten the breastworks with the rest; (3) a movement up the river to flank the enemy, cut off his retreat in that direction, and pursue him when he retreated; (4) General Poor supported by General Clinton to form the right flanking division in a movement along the hills; (5) General Maxwell's brigade to act as a reserve.

An hour was given Generals Poor and Clinton to turn the enemy's left flank before the frontal attack by riflemen and cannon should be made. Poor and Clinton were delayed by a swamp and bushes and hence had not gained their objective before General

Sullivan ordered the direct attack by artillery and General Hand's light troops. For half an hour the Indians and their white comrades in arms withstood the screeching and terrifying cannonade. It seems to have been Brant's able leadership that held them steady.

About this time General Poor's troops began to threaten the enemy's left. Brant hastened to repel this new danger, but was driven back by Poor's soldiers with fixed bayonets. Brant sounded the retreat. Indians and whites retreated in confusion from all parts of the fortified line toward Newtown and the ford in the Chemung river. The enemy was pursued but without much result.

Seven hours had passed since the first shot was fired. About 6 o'clock the battlefield of Newtown was in the hands of General Sullivan. Three loud huzzahs announced the victory. It virtually settled the whole campaign. The red men's fear of the "thunder trees" and the sharp bayonets was so great that Brant and the Butlers could not induce them to make another stand.

General Sullivan had under his command at the battle of Newtown about 3200 officers and men. On the British side were: 15 British regulars; 250 Loyalists and 1000 "warriors of the Six Nations." The Americans lost 3 killed and 36 wounded. Of the enemy 12 were found slain on the ground and two were taken prisoners. The wounded were carried away.

August 30 General Sullivan delayed a day to bury the dead, to destroy 40 houses and the Indian crops, to send the sick and wounded, four heavy guns and ammunition wagons back to Tioga by water. With the abundance of Indian corn and vegetables and fruits, the army agreed to get along on half rations. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 156; (*Dearborn*), 72; (*Fellows*), 89

August 31 The army started; burned a hamlet of eight houses two miles above Newtown; destroyed crops and 20 houses at Kanowaholla (now Elmira); and sent Colonel Dayton eight miles up the river in pursuit of the fleeing Indians. He destroyed the Indian village at Big Flats, 30 acres of corn and a quantity of hay. The main body turned northward and camped near Horseheads. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 157

August 31 Colonel Butler reported the battle of Newtown to Colonel Bolton. The defeat had a serious effect on the Indians. *Can. Arch., Hald. Pap.*, B 100:244

September 1 The army spent most of the day making its way through the thickly wooded Twelve-mile Bear swamp and camped at French Catharine's town, 30 houses, just deserted and fires still burning. Clinton's brigade spent the night in the swamp without

supper or shelter. The "horses, cows, calves and hogs" found at Catharine's town were "appropriated." The army devoted the next day to burning the houses, destroying the crops and fruit orchards, looking for straggling Indians. Only one old Tuscarora squaw was found but she gave considerable information. She reported that Butler had been joined by another group of Indians at that place. A council of war had been held. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Jenkins*), p. 173

September 1 Washington wrote to General Sullivan, before knowing about the battle of Newtown, commending the management of the junction of the two armies at Tioga, and telling about Colonel Brodhead's "diversion." *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1123

September 2 General Sullivan at Catharine's town sent an address to the Oneida nation assuring friendship and asking for guides. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1123. An undated reply was returned by the Oneidas. *Ibid.*, 2:1144. The army rested and gorged on corn and squashes. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 96

September 3 Colonel Butler at Canadasago asked for boats at the Genesee to carry off the sick. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:252 General Haldimand from Quebec promised to rush 860 picked troops, rangers and Indians under Sir John Johnson to help the Six Nations resist the rebels. *Ibid.*, B 104:52, 57

September 3 The army marched 12 miles and camped on the east shore of Seneca lake. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 73. An Indian spy was seen. *Ibid.* (*Jenkins*), p. 173

September 3 General Haldimand wrote Butler that he was sending "380 picked men, besides Indians" under Sir John Johnson. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:176

September 4 A small village and cornfields destroyed and 12 miles advance made. An Oneida Indian sent off to urge the Oneidas to take up the hatchet and to join Sullivan at Canadasaga. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 96. An express sent to Colonel Brodhead. *Ibid.* (*McKendry*), p. 204

September 4 General Sullivan wrote an address to the Oneida warriors: "You have promised to join me in our operations . . . It is with no small degree of surprise that I find only four of your warriors have joined me, though I have far advanced into the enemy's country . . . I shall expect shortly to be joined by those of your people who are friendly to the American cause." Almon, *Remembrancer*, 1779, part 1, p. 25

September 5 The army passed through Appletown of 20 houses with an "old orchard of 60 trees and many other fruits"; met Luke

Sweatland, a prisoner captured at Wyoming in 1778, who said that Brant had with him a thousand warriors and that among the Loyalists were some Wyoming men. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 73; *ibid.* (*Jenkins*), p. 173. Destroyed great quantities of corn; express arrived from Tioga. Fired at by an Indian. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 159

September 6 Delayed by scattering of horses and cattle, terrified by discharge of guns on previous day; saw "Indians driving horses"; small party searching for three lost servants went to Cayuga lake and destroyed a small town. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 97. Colonel Bolton wrote that Colonel Butler had been obliged to retreat to Canadasaga, and asked for the light company of the 34th regiment and 50 men besides. *Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:380

September 7 Reached outlet of Seneca lake; expected encounter with Indians and Loyalists; destroyed a small settlement; marched to Canadasaga (Geneva) or Seneca Castle, capital of the tribe, comprising 40 houses clustered about a ruined blockhouse and stockade, fruit orchards, a few acres of "English grass" and extensive cornfields; found a three-year-old white child, "(on 6th—*Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fellows*), p. 89), a great number of skins," and Indian "curiosities." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 74; *ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 159

September 7 Washington reported that the expedition was an important success. Ford, *Washington*, 8:42, 49

September 7 Colonel Bolton wrote General Haldimand (postscripts of 8th and 10th) that he had little hope of efficient Indian assistance against the Americans; only the Mohawks and Senecas could be relied upon; it was impossible to "drive the Rebels out of this country" because only 300 warriors were with Colonel Butler and the number was dwindling continually. He expressed anxiety about Niagara and was convinced (September 10th) that the rebels "by all accounts are determined to pay us a visit." He would defend the post "to the last extremity." He had been informed that "a party of 300 rebels had destroyed the Delaware and Canawauga Indian villages." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100: 257

September 8 Colonel Brodhead's movement up the Allegheny known to Colonel Butler. Americans 3000 strong have taken Canadasaga. *Ibid., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:262

September 8 The army waited at Seneca Castle while Kershong, a town of 14 houses eight miles south on west shore of Seneca lake, and Skoiyase or Scawyace (Waterloo), ten miles east on Cayuga

road, were burned. "A number of stacks of hay" were fired. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fellows*), p. 90; *Ibid.* (*T. Grant*), p. 141; *ibid.* (*G. Grant*), p. 111. Decided in council of war to "carry through the expedition." *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 160

September 9 Sick men and disabled horses sent back to Tioga under 50 men. Marched three miles through old cornfields covered with grass. Entered Ten Mile swamp. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 160

September 10 Reached Canandaigua lake and town of 30 houses "much better built" than any seen before, possibly homes of the Tories, surrounded by "large fields of corn" and orchards which were destroyed. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 74; (*T. Grant*), p. 141; (*Hubley*), p. 160

September 11 Marched 14 miles to Honeoye village of 11 houses chiefly of "hewn logs," on Honeoye lake with several cornfields near it. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 74

September 12 A small fort built at Honeoye where all provisions, pack horses, cannon and ammunition, except enough to reach Genesee Castle 30 miles westward, were left under guard of Captain Cummings and 50 men. *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 74; *ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 98

September 13 Marched two miles to town of Conesus of 25 houses where was found "a large quantity of corn, beans, squash, potatoes, cucumbers, watermelons, etc., etc." Halted four hours to destroy the corn, to build a bridge over the creek, and to cook food. This was the home of Chief Big Tree, a former friend of the Americans. Lieutenant Boyd with 26 riflemen was "sent out last night" to reconnoiter an Indian town seven miles west. Four men went into the town and "found it abandoned," except for a few scattered Indians, one of whom was killed and scalped. Lieutenant Boyd sent four men ahead to report to General Sullivan and was moving slowly back toward camp expecting the army to meet him. Hearing of Indians about him, Lieutenant Boyd pressed forward but ran into an ambush of Indians and Tories. A few of his men escaped and carried the news to General Sullivan. All the rest were killed except Lieutenant Boyd and Parker, who were captured. General Hand hurried forward with his light troops to the scene of the skirmish but found only "packs, hats, baggage etc." The army crossed the bridge and marched seven miles to the village of Gaghehegualahale of 22 houses on a small branch of the Genesee river. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fellows*), p. 90; (*Fogg*), p. 98; (*G. Grant*), p. 112; (*Hubley*), p. 161

September 13 General Haldimand wrote Lord George Germain that "the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and part of the Tuscaroras, are faithful but are being overrun." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 54:144

September 14 General Haldimand warned Lord George Germain that if the rebels took Fort Niagara the rich fur trade would be lost, the western Indians would be used against the Loyalists, and a rebel fleet would cruise the St Lawrence river. *Ibid., Hald. Coll.*, B 54:177

September 14 General Haldimand ordered Colonel Bolton to send information at once to Sir John Johnson at Carleton Island. *Ibid., Hald. Coll.*, B 104:63

September 14 General Sullivan discovered that "the Great Genesee town" was six miles distant on the west side of the Genesee river. The morning was devoted to the destruction of the vast cornfields. In the afternoon he crossed the Great Genesee flats, forded the river and entered the deserted Genesee Castle of 130 houses where the bodies of Lieutenant Boyd and Parker were found "mangled in a most horrid manner." The Indians had left large piles of corn husked and unhusked. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fellows*), p. 91; (*Fogg*), p. 99; (*G. Grant*), p. 112; (*Hubley*), p. 162

September 14 Colonel Butler reported from Buffalo creek that 22 Americans had been killed and the lieutenant and a private captured. He was about to leave with 400 men for Niagara. The Indians were taking their families. *Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:607

September 15 This day was given over to the destruction of 20,000 bushels of corn much of which had been planted by the Tories, by burning it with the houses. A white woman and child taken at Wyoming came to the army.[1] She said that Butler and Brant on September 13 had left "in a great hurry" for Niagara to prepare a defense. At 3 p. m. the army "faced to the right about" and started on the return trip. The night was spent on the Genesee flats. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 75; (*Fellows*) p. 91; (*Fogg*), p. 99

September 15 General order: "The commander-in-chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this expedition are accomplished, viz.: total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the

[1] Her husband had been killed by the Indians and she had been with them for two years. Her son died on the return march. She married Roswell Franklin. the first settler of Cayuga county. *Sull. Ind. Exp.*, p. 133 *note*

support of those inhuman barbarians, while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 163

September 16 After destroying a number of cornfields, which had escaped attention, the army marched in the afternoon to Kanaghsas (Conesus). Found 14 dead of Lieutenant Boyd's party among them "Honjare" the Oneida, and buried them with military honors. *Ibid.*, (*Hubley*), p. 163

September 16 Colonel Bolton reported to General Haldimand that 4000 Americans were at Genesee, "within 70 or 80 miles of this post." Brodhead was at Venango. Butler's Rangers had only 150 men fit for duty. The Indians with their families were flocking to Niagara, which was being put in a state of defence. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:269

September 17 The army struck tents and marched to Honeoye where they found the supplies and guard "all safe." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 76. Soldiers in "high spirits" and "willing to make great marches." *Ibid.* (*Fellows*), p. 91

September 18 Encamped at Canandaigua. An Oneida chief, "Bluback," and three warriors arrived and said that 100 Oneidas and Tuscaroras started out to join General Sullivan but had returned. They interceded for the Cayugas but found General Sullivan determined to chastise them. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 163.

September 19 Reached Kanadasaga. An express arrived from Washington reporting that Spain had declared war on England. A number of worn-out pack horses were shot. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 100. Express from Tioga arrived. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 164.

September 20 War council decides not to make a treaty with the Cayugas. Colonel William Butler with 600 men sent up the east side of Cayuga lake to destroy the Indian villages and crops. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 76; (*Fogg*), p. 100; (*Hubley*), p. 164

September 20 Colonel Gansevoort with 100 men started for the Mohawk river to destroy the Mohawk Castle and to forward baggage left there, and then to proceed to Albany. Burned an Indian village of 20 houses on Seneca river. Reached Cayuga lake September 21st and marched across to Owasco lake. On September

22d passed Skaneateles lake and proceeded to Onondaga. The next day (September 23d) marched through Canaseraga, a Tuscarora village, where the friendly Indians fed the soldiers and on September 24th reached Fort Stanwix by way of Oneida Castle. After camping at Oriskany (September 25th) the detachment proceeded to Fort Herkimer on September 26th. The next day sent "some men in bateaux to carry off the remainder of the Mohawk tribe that lived on Schoharie Creek" and arrived at Albany September 28th. *Jour. of Lieut. Robt. Parker*

September 20 Colonel Smith with a force of 200 men was sent up the west side of Seneca lake to complete the destruction of Kershong and other settlements. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 164; (*Fogg*), p. 100

September 20 Colonel Butler wrote to General Haldimand from Niagara that the reinforcements "have been sent too late to save the country of the Five Nations which has been invaded and the corn and villages destroyed." For want of provisions he had to retreat to Niagara. He suspected that General Sullivan was moving on Fort Oswego. The Indians were still "unshaken in their attachment to His Majesty's cause." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:179

September 21 Colonel Dearborn with 200 men ordered to go up west side of Cayuga lake to destroy Indian settlements and cornfields. The main army marched 13 miles and camped two miles south of Kendaia. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 76; (*Fogg*), p. 100

September 22 Colonel Bolton reported that General Sullivan was falling back to Tioga. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:274

September 23 Catharine's town was reached at noon. Again the old squaw was found and given a supply of food. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 100; (*G. Grant*), p. 112; (*Hubley*), p. 164

September 24 The route through Bear swamp was followed. At Horseheads a number of worn-out horses were shot. Reached Fort Reid and were saluted by 13 shots from the single cannon. The salute was answered by the cohorn. Fresh supplies being available full rations were now resumed. The army remained here five days to rest. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Fogg*), p. 100

September 25 Five oxen were barbecued, and a great plenty of liquor to drink. In General Hand's brigade, to celebrate the alliance of Spain with the United States, 13 fires and 13 candles were kept burning and 13 toasts were drunk. A salute of 13 cannon and a bonfire at night concluded the celebration. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 165

September 25 Governor Haldimand reported to Lord George Germain his fears that the rebels had designs against Niagara. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 54:185

September 26 Colonel Dearborn reached Fort Reid about noon after having gone up the west shore of Cayuga lake, destroyed six Cayuga villages, cornfields, orchards and gardens, and captured an Indian and three squaws. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 76–78. Took two squaws to Fort Reid. *Ibid.* (*Fogg*), p. 100

September 27 Colonel Van Cortlandt with a "large party" went nine miles up the Tioga by boat, where cornfields were devastated, and nine boatloads of corn and vegetables were brought back to camp. Captain Simon Spalding went still farther up the Tioga where he burned a "Tory settlement" (near Painted Post) and ten acres of corn, and returned to Fort Reid on the 29th after the main army had marched, so followed by land and water to Chemung. *Ibid.* (*Hardenbergh*), p. 134; (*Jenkins*), p. 176, 177

September 28 Colonel William Butler reached camp at Fort Reid having destroyed Cayuga Castle and four other towns with 100 houses, a number of scattered houses, 200 acres of corn, orchards and gardens. *Ibid.* (*G. Grant*), p. 113; (*Jenkins*), p. 176

September 28 Colonel Dayton started down the south side of the Tioga river to destroy the towns and crops of the Indians. *Ibid.* (*Nukerck*), p. 219

September 28 All the sick were ordered to be sent to Tioga by boats and the lame to ride down on "the worst horses." *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 34

September 28 General Sullivan sent Washington a report of the expedition following the battle of Newtown. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1141

September 29 General Sullivan demolished Fort Reid and continued the homeward march, encamping for the night at Chemung. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 35

September 29 Sir John Johnson wrote Colonel Bolton that the rebels had retired to Tioga. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:281

September 30 The army returned to Fort Sullivan at Tioga and was welcomed by Colonel Shreve and the garrison with booming of 13 cannon and cheers while the fife and drum corps and Colonel Proctor's regimental band played lively martial music. The officers and men celebrated the victorious campaign with a feast and strong liquor. Having finished the campaign "gloriously" mirth and joy "appeared in every countenance." *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 78. The celebration ended with a grotesque war dance directed by an Oneida chief and led by General Hand. Even the

"grave chaplain could not repress a smile." *Ibid.* (*Craft*), p. 378. In 35 days the expedition had traversed 136 miles each way from Tioga back to Tioga. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 35

September 30 Washington reported General Sullivan's success to Lafayette. *Cal. Wash. Corr.*, 2:1143

September 30 In General Sullivan's official report to John Jay, President of Congress, written at Tioga Point, the work of the campaign was summarized:

1 "The number of towns destroyed by this army amount to 40."

2 Besides many "scattering houses" were burned. "We have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara."

3 "The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels."

4 "A vast quantity of vegetables of every kind" was demolished. (He does not mention the plum, peach and apple orchards cut down or girdled.)

5 Not 40 men were lost "in action or otherwise." The battle of Newtown was so decisive that the panic-stricken enemy did not fire "a single gun" at the army "on its march or in its quarters."

6 "Every creek and river has been traced, and the whole country explored" (in search of Indian villages) despite the lack "of proper guides" and "exceedingly erroneous" maps.

7 Roads were cut and some bridges built.

8 Although not ordered to do so, he would have ventured to capture Fort Niagara had he had additional provisions for 15 days.

9 He believed that his orders were "fully executed." *Sull. Ind. Exp.*, p. 296

October 2 Colonel Bolton told General Haldimand that the defeat at the "engagement of Nanticoke" (battle of Newtown) had prevented Indiana reinforcements. *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:284

October 3 Colonel Bolton forwarded to Sir John Johnson Brant's report of General Sullivan's return to Tioga. *Ibid., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:294

October 3 Hospital and sick were sent down the river. Fort Sullivan was demolished. Oneida scouts left for home. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Hubley*), p. 166

October 4 Chief part of the Army marched to Wessaukin creek. *Ibid.* (*Hubley*), p. 166

October 5 General Sullivan's letter of September 30th to Congress was read and referred to the committee on intelligence. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1146

October 5–7 "The whole of the Army was ordered to go in boats" to Wyoming, except those who drove the horses and cattle. Not to exceed 60 men died or were killed in the whole campaign. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Dearborn*), p. 78

October 8 "A large party" was sent ahead to repair the roads to Easton. An express from Washington informed General Sullivan of the arrival of a French fleet and army "on the coast near New York." *Ibid.* (*Dearborn*), p. 79

October 9 General Sullivan turned the command over to General Clinton and "set off to Eastown." *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 36

October 10 Owing to a scarcity of wagons most of the baggage was put on pack horses and army started by land for Easton. Met 50 wagons en route to Wyoming and used half of them (October 12). Received provisions at Brinker's Mills (October 13) and sufficient wagons to carry all the baggage. *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 36

October 11 General Sullivan's speech to the Oneida Indians was read in Congress. *Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1161

October 14 Congress thanked Washington, General Sullivan and "the brave officers and soldiers" for "Effectually executing an important expedition" against the hostile Indians. *Ibid.* 15:1170

October 15 The army led by General Clinton reached Easton. *Sull. Ind. Exp.* (*Beatty*), p. 36

October 17 "The whole Army went to church today and heard a very Elegant Oration from the Rev. Dr. Evans Sutible to the Occasion—likewise Genl. Sullivan and the Western army had the thanks of Congress." *Ibid.* (*Beatty*), p. 37

October 17 General Haldimand wrote Colonel John Butler that "I derive great pleasure from the assurance you give me of the unshaken fidelity testified by the Five Nations to His Majesty's interests, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained." *Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:183

November 11 Guy Johnson wrote Lord George Germain "that the rebels had hastily retreated out of the Indian country after destroying almost all the villages and cornfields of the Six Nations" and that Colonel Butler had retired with the Indians to Niagara. He found it an "arduous undertaking" to keep up the spirits of the 2628 Indians assembled at Niagara for a counter attack and difficult to preserve their "attachment to government" because of "their late losses." *Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.* 8:779

SELECTED LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CAUSES, CHARACTER AND RESULTS OF THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON CAMPAIGN

These sources have been selected for publication because they reflect vividly the conditions which caused the organization of the campaign, the purpose of the movement, the execution of the enterprise, and the effects. Most of this material is here printed for the first time. The letters of Tory and Indian leaders and British officers portray a new side of the campaign. Some of the letters and reports, as well as two of the journals in the following section, are reprinted because of their importance and inaccessibility.

GENERAL GAGE EARLY URGES USE OF INDIANS TO PROTECT QUEBEC

Boston, June 12, 1775

From what has passed, your Lordship will judge that a plan for rebellion has been long conceived, and the people's minds ripened for it, and it is now too open and manifest to need the opinion of the law officers. I hear that the rebels, after surprising Ticonderoga, made incursions and commenced hostilities upon the frontier of the Province of Quebeck, which will justify General Carleton to raise bodies of Canadians and Indians to attack them in return; and we need not be tender of calling on the Savages, as the rebels have shown us the example, by bringing as many Indians down against us here as they could collect.

[Thomas Gage]

[To Lord Dartmouth]

[Force, *Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., 2:967]

THE AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY IN 1775

[Continental Congress] July 12, 1775

The Report of the Committee of Indian Affairs was then taken into consideration . . . . the Congress came to the following Resolution:

That the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian Nations, appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to these Colonies.

That there is too much reason to apprehend that Administration will spare no pains to excite the several Nations of Indians to take up arms against these colonies; and that it becomes us to be very active and vigilant in exerting every prudent means to strengthen and confirm the friendly disposition towards these colonies, which has long prevailed

among the northern tribes, and which has been lately manifested by some of those to the southward.

As the Indians depend on the Colonists for arms, ammunition, and clothing, which are become necessary to their subsistence, That Commissioners be appointed by this Congress, to superintend Indian Affairs in behalf of these colonies.

That there be three departments of Indians, the northern, middle and southern. . ..

That five Commissioners be appointed for the southern department.

That for each of the other two departments, there be appointed three Commissioners.

That the Commissioners have power to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, in the name, and on behalf of the united colonies, in order to preserve peace and friendship with the sd Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions. [*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 2:174]

JOSEPH BRANT EXPLAINS WHY THE INDIANS JOINED THE BRITISH

In a speech delivered by Chief Joseph Brant in the year 1803, recapitulating the history of the services of the Mohawks in the Revolutionary War, the following passages occur:—"We were living at the former residence of Guy Johnson, when the news arrived that war had commenced between the king's people and the Americans. We took but little notice of this first report; but in a few days we heard that five hundred Americans were coming to seize our superintendent. Such news as this alarmed us, and we immediately consulted together as to what measures were necessary to be taken. We at once reflected upon the covenant of our forefathers as allies to the King, and said, 'It will not do for us to break it, let what will become of us.' Indeed, it is a long time since the Governor (Sir Guy Carleton) said to us: 'I exhort you to continue your adherence to the King, and not to break the solemn agreement made by your forefathers; for your own welfare is intimately connected with your continuing the allies of his Majesty.' He also said a great deal more to the same purport; and on this our minds were the more firmly fixed, for we acknowledged that it would certainly be the best in the end, for our families and ourselves to remain under the King's protection, whatever difficulties we might have to contend with. . . . A council was next convened at Montreal, in July, 1775, at which the Seven Nations (or Caughnawagas) were present, as well as ourselves the Six Nations. On this occasion General Haldimand told us what had befallen the

King's subjects, and said, now is the time for you to help the King. The war has commenced. Assist the King now, and you will find it to your advantage. Go now and fight for your possessions, and whatever you lose of your property during the war, the King will make up to you when peace returns. This is the substance of what General Haldimand said. The Caughnawaga Indians then joined themselves to us. We immediately commenced in good earnest, and did our utmost during the war."

[Stone, *Brant*, 1:89]

EARL OF DARTMOUTH INSTRUCTS COLONEL GUY JOHNSON OFFICIALLY TO ENLIST THE INDIANS

Whitehall. 24. July 1775.

Sir,

I have already in my letter to you of the 5th inst: hinted that the time might possibly come when the King, relying upon the attachment of His faithful Allies, the Six Nations of Indians, might be under the necessity of calling upon them for their aid and assistance in the present state of America.

The unnatural rebellion now raging there, calls for every effort to suppress it, and the intelligence His Majty has received of the Rebells having excited the Indians to take a part, and of their having actually engaged a body of them in arms to support their rebellion, justifies the resolution his Majty has taken of requiring the assistance of his faithful adherents the six Nations.

It is therefore His Majty's pleasure, that you do lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America, & to engage them in His Majty's service upon such plan as shall be suggested to you by General Gage to whom this letter is sent accompanied with a large assortment of goods for presents to them upon this important occasion.

Whether the engaging the Six Nations to take up arms in defence of his Majty's Government, is most likely to be effected by separate negociation with the Chiefs or in a general Council assembled for that purpose, must be left to your judgement, but at all events as it is a service of very great importance, you will not fail to exert every effort that may tend to accomplish it, and to use the utmost diligence and activity in the execution of the orders I have now the honor to transmit to you.

I am ettc.

Dartmouth

[To Guy Johnson]

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:596]

GUY CARLETON TELLS OF INDIAN CONGRESS AT MONTREAL

Quebec 14th August 1775

The 16th of July Colonel Johnson arrived at Montreal accompanied by some Chiefs of the Six Nations, and was followed by more; at a Congress held in that City with these and the Provincial Indians, they all promised great Things; it is at present absolutely necessary to gain them, and perhaps at all times, tho' at a very considerable Expense, but they are not to be depended upon, especially by those who are in a weakly Situation.

To Earl of Dartmouth

Guy Carleton

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 11:222]

THE SIX NATIONS DECIDE TO REMAIN NEUTRAL

[In Council at Albany August 31, 1775]

Brothers,

. . . We have fully considered this matter. The resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken or altered. When they resolve, the matter is fixed. This then is the determination of the Six Nations, not to take any part, but as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out. We beg you will receive this as infallible, it being our full resolution; for we bear as much affection for the King of England's subjects on the other side the water, as we do for you, born upon this island. One thing more we request, which is, that you represent this in a true light to the delegates from all the Colonies, and not vary, and that you observe the same regard for truth when you write to the King about those matters; for we have ears, and shall hear, if you represent any thing in a wrong point of light. We likewise desire you would inform our brothers at Boston of our determination.

Brothers,

. . . It is the result of mature deliberation. It was our declaration to Col. Johnson. We told him we should take no part in the quarrel, and hoped neither side would desire it. Whoever applies first, we shall think in the wrong. The resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken . . .

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:622; Stone, *Brant*, 1:XIX.]

JOURNAL OF COLONEL GUY JOHNSON FROM MAY TO NOVEMBER, 1775 RECORDING HIS EFFORTS TO WIN THE INDIANS

Colonel Johnson having early perceived that the different Colonies were about to follow the example of the Massachusetts Bay, and finding that various measures were taken by New England Missionaries and others, to alienate the affections of the Indians & spirit them up to bad purposes, he communicated the same to Lord Dartmouth in March, and soon after sent messengers to call the Six Nations &c to a General Congress. . . . Finding this & that his communication with the Indians would soon be totally obstructed, he resolved to proceed to the Westward (with such presents &c as he then had) and meet them in their own country, while it remained practicable; . . . He then with such of the Mohocks as were at home, and a body of armed white men, making together about 250 marched to the Upper Settlements under every circumstance of difficulty, . . . thence he proceeded to Fort Stanwix, where he met 260 Oneidas and Oughquagas with whom he held a conference, . . . the Indians who assembled there in a few days to the number of 1458, with about 100 white men, including the officers of the department. From the state of the country and the vilainous stories propagated it required some time with great skill and influence to remove false reports and fix the Indians heartily in the interests of the Crown. He however had the good fortune at length to bring them to resolve to co-operate with His Majesty's troops in the defence of the communication and waters emptying into the River St Lawrence, and in the annoyance of the enemy, and also to send their band of Warriors present with him, to Montreal, to inspire their dependants there with the same resolutions . . .

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:658]

CAPTAIN JOSEPH BRANT ASSURES LORD GEORGE GERMAIN OF THE LOYALTY OF THE SIX NATIONS

London May 7th 1776

Brother.

When we delivered our speech you answered us in a few words, that you would take care and have the grievances of the Six Nations on account of their lands, particularly those of the Mohocks and Oughquagas, removed; and all those matters settled to our satisfaction whenever the troubles in America were ended, and that you hoped the

Six Nations would continue to behave with that attachment to the King they had always manifested; in which case they might be sure of his Majesty's favour and protection.

Brother. We return you thanks for this promise, which we hope will be performed, and that we shall not be disappointed, as has often been the case, notwithstanding the warm friendship of the Mohocks to his Majesty and his government, who are so immediately concerned, that the same has been often mentioned by the Six Nations and their getting no redress a matter of surprize to all the Indian Nations.

We are not afraid Brother, or have we the least doubt but our brethren the Six Nations will continue firm to their engagements with the King their father. Our Superintendent knows that in order to keep true to their treaties they have at time punished their friends and Allies.

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:678]

ONEIDA CHIEFS REPORT TO GENERAL SCHUYLER THE DECISION OF THE CHIEFS TO JOIN COLONEL JOHN BUTLER

Oneida May 22. 1776

We the Oneida Chiefs think proper to acquaint you with the result of the meeting at Niagara with Coll. [John] Butler . . . The purport of our answer was that the Six Nations with the Cagnuagas and the Seven Tribes in that vicinity, had all united and resolved to maintain peace, both with the King and the Bostonians, and receive no Ax from either.

Coll. Butler replies —

Brothers. I am glad to hear you are all united but I am surprised to find you talk of maintaining peace with the Americans and at the same time support the King's peace or Government . . .

Brothers. You had better recall your resolutions and determine to keep the Kings peace, and the King will then be glad to hear from you . . .

To this the Sachems made an immediate reply.
Brothers.

We will support the Kings Peace or Government and we now speak from our very inside, and don't think it proceeds only from our lips. . . .

Brother Genl Schuyler — we now inform [you] that Col. Butler prevailed, and upwards of fifty of the Six Nations, have embarked twelve days ago in quest of Col. Johnson, and a number of the Back

Nations, the whole amounting to one hundred. Brother we dread the consequence; we this day send off four of our young men to acquaint you & then proceed to Kaghnawaga to inform them . . .

[*Doc. rel Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:688–90]

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS PERSIST IN EFFORTS TO WIN THE SIX NATIONS

May 25, 1776

[Resolved]

That it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the Service of the United Colonies.

That the Commrs. at Albany be directed to use their utmost Endeavors to procure the Assistance of the Indians to act *offensively*[1] against the Enemies of these Colonies, that they apply themselves particularly to induce the Indians to undertake the Reduction of Niagara, and that as an Enducement so to do they engage in Behalf of the Congress to pay them £50 Pennsylvania Currency for every Prisoner [Soldier of the Garrison] they shall take and bring to head Quarters or to the said Commissioners, and the free plunder of the Garrison.

That the Commrs. in each of these Departments be directed to employ one or more able Partisans, whom the Congress will liberally reward for their Exertions in the Business to be committed to them.

That the Commander in Chief be authorised and instructed to employ in the Continental Armies a Number of Indians not exceeding to be upon such Terms as he shall think most beneficial for the United Colonies.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 4:394]

Monday, June 17, 1776

Resolved

. . . That General Washington be permitted to employ the Indians whom he may take into the service of the United Colonies, pursuant to a resolution of Congress of the 25th of May last, in any place where he shall judge they will be most useful; and that he be authorized to offer them a reward of one hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and of thirty dollars for every private soldier of the King's troops that they shall take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of these colonies.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 5:452]

---

[1] Word *offensively* crossed out in original.

James Clinton
General of New York Brigade

BRITISH TRIUMPH WITH THE INDIANS

A manuscript of Gen. Gansevoort states that a grand Indian council was held at Niagara, in September, 1776, by Colonel John Butler, and Lieutenants Matthews, Burnit, and Kinnesley, and Ensign Butler, with the Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Mississagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Delawares, Nanticokes, Squaghkies, and Connoys — in presence of Lieut. Colonel John Caldwell, then in command at Niagara. It appears that only one Oneida sachem was present, and one Tuscarora. They adopted an address, which was unanimously signed by the chiefs attending the Congress, declaring their intention to embark in the war, and abide the result of the contest of the King with his people. They made a strong appeal to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, "to quit the Bostonians, and be strong and determined to fulfil their engagements to the King." They also exhorted the Mohawks to be strong, and assured them "that they, and all their western brethren, would fly to their assistance at the first call," &c.

[Stone, *Brant*, 2:3]

COLONEL GUY JOHNSON REPORTS ATTACKS ON FRONTIER SETTLEMENTS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

New York June 8th 1777.

My Lord.

. . . . the Six Nations having called in and assembled all their people, in order to make a diversion on the frontiers of this Province & Pennsylvania, agreable to my messages; since which they have made several attacks along the back settlements from Fort Stanwix to the Ohio, with such success that the rebels have been obliged to detach General Hand with some troops to protect the frontiers and are in much consternation. This loyalty of the Indians is a great obstruction to their levies,

. . . But however general the infatuation of the multitude may be, the mistaken fidelity of the Indians is a sensible check to them, & I cannot too much applaud the loyalty of the Six Nations, under the many disadvantages they must labour 'till the rout is opened, which will enable them to see the strength of His Majesty's arms and to receive the necessary supplys for prosecuting the war with vigour.

G. Johnson

[To Lord Germain]

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:711]

New York July 7th 1777.

My Lord.

The day after dispatching my last letter, I had the pleasure of receiving one from the Chiefs of the Six Nations written by Joseph, by their order; informing that they had assembled in May agreable to the directions I had given, wished much to hear from Sr Wm. Howes army, as they were all in readiness (the Oneidas excepted) all determined as they expressed it "to Act as one Man"

G. Johnson

[To Lord Germain]

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:713]

COLONEL CLAUS REPORTS TO SECRETARY KNOX ABOUT JOSEPH BRANT AND THE SIX NATIONS

Montreal 6 November 1777

Sir

. . . Joseph, since his arrival from England has showed himself the most faithful and zealous subject His Majesty can have in America, in Indn matters, and deserves to be noticed as such. He is now busy among the Six Nations and has been with them these several weeks past; he is perfectly acquainted with Mr Butlers sentiments and conduct and disapproved of them; for which the latter dislikes him. I have fully wrote him and given him my opinion and sentiments how to act with the 6 Nations, and I am persuaded he will carry his point and bring them to action before Col. Butler gets among them, they having partly engaged to me before I left Oswego so to do, and be revenged upon the rebels for the loss of their chiefs at Fort Stanwix and for some of their peoples being put in irons and confined at Albany, and I expect daily to hear their putting it in execution, they having acquainted all the Western Nations with their intention, and advised them to follow their example, before I came away from Oswego; and I accompanied their messages with some from me, confirmed by large strings of Wampum. And by what I could learn from the messenger, of the Nations living on the Ohio and Misisipy, they are all in the King's interest, and when they find the Northern Indians, of their sentiments, they will act with more vigor and spirit. The Six Nations metaphorically say, that our Hatchet is dull, on account of being restrained these 2 years from acting agst the rebells, and our expedition to Fort Stanwix not sufficiently equipt, that they intend taking up the Hatchet their forefathers gave them, wch was burried in a deep pit, but very sharp, and would force its way wherever pointed, without

controul; at the same time they declare that they only mean to restore peace to the country, and make the King's children to repent and return to their duty.

Danl Claus

To William Knox

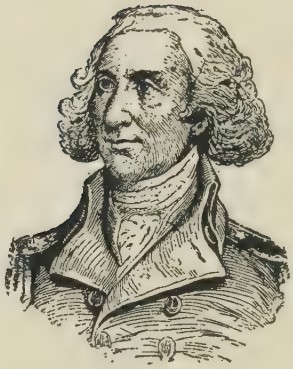
[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:724]

JAMES DEANE NOTIFIES GENERAL SCHUYLER OF HIS EFFORTS FOR HARMONY—HOSTILITY OF THE SENECAS

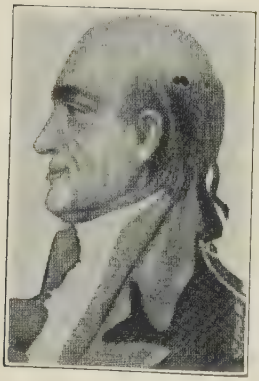
Oneida May 25th 1778.

Sir,—I have defered writing several Days after the Return of the Sachems from Onondaga in Hopes of being able to give you a just Account of the Situation of Affairs among the six Nations. But the Intelligence I receive is so various and contradictory that it is impossible to determine what are their real Intentions. It is however now publicly known that three different parties of Quiyogas [Cayugas] are already gone to War upon the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. It is also said that Joseph Brant is at the Head of a fourth, and that he is to collect his Friends upon the Susquehannah & attack Cherry Valley. The party of 124 Senecas mentioned in my last are since returned from War. They have taken thirteen scalps and two prisoners with the loss of several of their party. From the best Accounts I have been able to collect, it appears that the Onondagas are much divided in sentiment and that a party of the Senecas have observed a Neutrality since the Beginning of the War and still wish to live in Friendship with the United States. Upwards of twenty, mostly of this party arrived here yesterday on their way to Albany to procure an Exchange of prisoners. I expect them to leave this to Morrow. They are determined to proceed to whatever part of the State you shall please to direct them to effect their purpose. They were ordered by their Sachems to go no farther than the Boundary Line and procure an Exchange there. But the Oneidas presuming upon their Interest and Influence with the Commissioners encouraged them at the late Council at Onondaga with Assurances of personal Safety to proceed to Albany or whatever place the prisoner they are in quest of may be confined. The other part of the Senecas, which is by far the most considerable, seem resolved to make no Terms with us, tho I believe there is no Danger of their attacking the Frontiers of Tryon County, while so large a party of their people are down in our Country. The Onondagas have sent three Runners successively to the Quiyogas and Senecas to call them to the intended Meeting,

George Clinton
Governor of New York



Philip Schuyler



Edward Hand

Enoch Poor

but hitherto to no purpose. They have, therefore, declared their final Resolutions not to address them again upon the Subject But to return the Commissioners Belts at Albany. All the Quiyogas not gone out to war are now attending a Conference with Mr. Butler & the Senecas at Kanadasege.

Js Deane

[To Gen. Schuyler]

[*Clinton Papers*, 3:356]

COBLESKILL DESTROYED

Schoharry 30th May 1778.

Hon'ble Sir, As part of our Regiment of Militia with the Continental Troops have been attacked by the Tories and Savages and being not able to stand them, they gave way and eleven or twelve of the Continental Troops are returned, the Capt. & Lieut. are killed and how many of the Militia are missing we are not able to give an exact account, but shall as soon as we are able. Cobus Kill is destroyed. We hope you will send us Reinforcement as soon as possible, and some ammunition as we are much in want of it. We have a small Field Piece. I hope you will send some Grape shot for it and we remain Your most humble Serv'ts

To Genl. Starke.

William Dietz, Esq.
Thomas Eckeson, Major
Jost Becker, Major

[*Clinton Papers*, 3:377]

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AUTHORIZED AN INDIAN EXPEDITION IN 1778

Thursday, June 11, 1778

. . . And, whereas, the success of the expedition against Detroit may be facilitated, and the hostile tribes of Indians sooner reduced to terms of peace, by another expedition from the Mohawk river to the Seneca country, in order to chastise that insolent and revengeful nation, and to dispossess the enemy from Oswego, should they have taken possession of that post: therefore,

Resolved, That Major General Gates, or the officer commanding the troops on the east side of Hudson's river, and in the northern department, be directed to take the most expeditious measures for carrying the war into the Senecas' country, in order to reduce to terms

of peace, such of the Six Nations as are hostile, and to dispossess the enemy from Oswego in case they should have taken possession of that post:

That the commissioners of Indian affairs in the northern department, or any of them who may be at Albany, be directed to co-operate with Major General Gates and the officer appointed to command on this expedition, in the execution of this measure:

That the Board of War give notice, from time to time, to Major General Gates and the officer commanding the expedition against the Senecas, of the progress of the preparations making at Fort Pitt, and of the time when the troops from that quarter will set out on their march, in order that the two armies may, as far as is practicable, act in concert: . . .

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:589]

CONGRESS VOTES FUNDS

Wednesday, June 17, 1778

That 600,000 dollars be advanced to the Board of War and Ordnance, being in part of the 932,743 30/90 dollars, voted the 11 instant for carrying on an expedition against the Indians; the said Board to be accountable.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:614]

COLONEL JACOB KLOCK'S DESCRIPTION OF INDIAN DEPREDATIONS ON OTSEGO LAKE

Cona Johary this 22d of June 1778

Sir, Tryon County has once more experienced the Cruelty of a restless Enemy. Springfield, Andrewtown and the Settlements on Lacke Osego [Otsego] were at once attacked and destroyed last Saturday the 18th of this instant. Houses, Barns, even Waggons, ploughs and the Hay Cocks in the Meadows were laid in Ashes. Fourteen men are carried away prisoners and eight killed. All the provisions tacken on Horses and carried off. Two Hundred Creatures (Horses and Chiefly Cattle) were drove down the Susquehanna; last Sunday morning the Enemy sett off with this Booty from the House of one Tunnicliff. All this has been done, that the garrison at Cherry Valley did not know any thing about an Enemy; tho' Springfield is not above four Miles Distant from the said Place. As soon as the News came, I ordered imediately the Militia to march to stop the progress of the Enemy. The same Instant I received a Letter from Coll. Peter Bellinger of the German

Flats, that the Enemy was burning Houses within four Miles of the Flats praying for Assistance. I did order up five Companies of the Palatine and Cona Johary Battallion; The rest I marched straight to Andrewtown; ordering Coll. Bellinger to join me in order to intercept if possible the Enemy. But on my March thiter I learnt that he the Enemy was gone; and nothing was left, as to scour the woods, as I got information, that still a strong party of the Enemy was left to do mischief. As soon as the Flats Militia was on their March in the woods, the Enemy fell out at the Flats toock two prisoners and killed one Man. Several People, who have been prisoners and did Escape, affirm, that Brandt was the Commander, and that his party consists of about five hundred. So much is certain, that his Number encreaseth dayly; many very lately did run off moved by Disaffection; others join him moved by fear; and severall are forced to tacke up Arms against us, or to swear Allegiance to the King of Britain. We are informed and Brandt boasted openly, that he will be joined at Unatelly, by Butler, and that within eight days he will return and lay the whole County waste. The dreadfull Sight of Springfield and Andrewtown heightened with these Reports puts the people of the County into the greatest Consternation; they speack of nothing but flying off; Harvest time is at Hand & no prospect of a speedy Assistence; the officers and the principal Inhabitants meet with the greatest Difficulties, to persuade the People to stand out only but a few Days, untill it should be in the power of the government to sent us relief. Last Sunday Morning I dispached an Express to general Ten Broeck, and desired his recomendation of the Situation of our County to your Excellency & to gen Starks, but did not receive an Answer. Your Excellency, the comon father of the good People of this State, upon whose fatherly Exertions the People of this County relieth, and which keepeth the many poor, the numerous widows and the fatherless still in hopes, will, we fervently pray, grant us such speedy relief, as your Ex'llcy in your wisdom shall see meet; & In case it should be an impossibility; to afford us any Assistance with Batteaus, to bring off wifes and Childern, that they might not be a prey to a cruel Enemy. Having tacken the Liberty to macke your Excellency acquainted withe the Situation and Sentiments of the people I remain as in duty Bound Sir Your most obedient and most humble Servant

Jacob Klock

To his Excellency George Clinton.

[*Clinton Papers*, 3:475]

SENECA HUNTER'S LODGE (*New York State Museum Exhibit*)

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON WYOMING

Poughkeepsie, July 20, [1778]

Since our last many of the distressed refugees from the Wyoming settlement on the Susquehannah, who escaped the general massacre of the inhabitants, have passed this way, from whom we have collected the following account, viz.

* * * * * *

On the 1st instant (July) the whole body of the enemy, consisting, it is supposed of near 1600, (about 300 of whom were thought to be Indians, under their own Chiefs, the rest Tories painted like them, except their officers, who were dressed like regulars) the whole under the command of Colonel John Butler, (a Connecticut Tory, and cousin of Colonel Zebulon Butler, the second in command in the settlement) came down near the upper fort, but concealed the greatest part of their number; here they had a skirmish with the inhabitants, who took and killed two Indians, and lost ten of their own men, three of whom they afterwards found, killed, scalped, and mangled in the most inhuman manner.

Thursday, July 2. The enemy appeared on the mountains, back of Kingston, where the women and children then fled into the fort. Most of the garrison of Exeter fort were Tories, who treacherously gave it up to the enemy. The same night, after a little resistance, they took Lackewana fort, killed 'Squire Jenkins and his family, with several others, in a barbarous manner, and made prisoners of most of the women and children; a small number only escaped.

Friday, July 3. This morning Colonel Zebulon Butler, leaving a small number to guard the fort (Wilkesborough) crossed the river with about 400 men, and marched into Kingston fort. The enemy sent in a flag, demanding a surrender of the fort in two hours. Colonel Butler answered he should not surrender, but was ready to receive them. They sent in a second flag demanding an immediate surrender, otherwise the fort should be stormed, plundered and burnt, with all its contents, in a few hours—and said that they had with them 300 men. Colonel Zebulon Butler proposed a parley, which being agreed to, a place in Kingston was appointed for the meeting, to which Colonel Zebulon Butler repaired with 400 men, well armed; but finding no body there, he proceeded to the foot of the mountain, where at a distance he saw a flag, which as he advanced, retired, as if afraid, twenty or thirty rods; he following, was led into an ambush, and partly surrounded by the enemy, who suddenly rose and fired upon them. Notwithstanding the great disproportion of 1600 to 400, he and his men bravely stood and returned the fire for three quarters of

an hour, with such briskness and resolution, that the enemy began to give way, and were upon the point of retiring—when one of Colonel Zebulon Butler's men, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out that the Colonel ordered a retreat— This caused a cessation of their fire, threw them into confusion, and a total route ensued. The greatest part fled to the river, which they endeavored to pass, to Fort Wilkesborough, the enemy pursued with the fury of devils, many were lost or killed in the river, and no more than about 70, some of whom were wounded, escaped to Wilkesborough.

Saturday morning, July 4. The enemy sent 196 scalps into Fort Kingston, which they invested on the land side, and kept up a continual fire upon it.

This evening Colonel Zebulon Butler, with his family quitted the fort, and went down the river.

Colonel Nathan Dennison went, with a flag, to Exeter fort, to know of Colonel John Butler what terms he would grant on a surrender. Butler answered, the hatchet. Colonel Dennison returned to Fort Kingston, which he defended till Sunday morning, when his men being nearly all killed or wounded, he could hold out no longer, and was obliged to surrender at discretion. The enemy took away some of the unhappy prisoners, and shutting up the rest in the houses, set fire to them, and they were all consumed together. These infernals then crossed the river to Fort Wilkesborough, which in a few minutes surrendered at discretion. About 70 of the men, who had inlisted in the Continental service to defend the frontiers, they inhumanly butchered, with every circumstance of horrid cruelty; and then shutting up the rest, with the women and children, in the houses, they set fire to them, and they all perished together in the flames.

After burning all the buildings in the fort, they proceeded to the destruction of every building and improvement (except what belonged to some tories) that come within their reach, on all these flourishing settlements, which they have rendered a scene of desolation and horror, almost beyond description, parallel, or credibility; and were not the facts attested by numbers of the unhappy sufferers, from different quarters of the settlement, and unconnected with each other, it would be impossible to believe that human nature could be capable of such prodigious enormity.

When these miscreants had destroyed the other improvements, they proceeded to destroy the crops on the ground, letting in the cattle and horses to the corn, and cutting up as much as they could, or what was left. Great numbers of the cattle they shot and destroyed; and cutting out the tongues of many others, left them to perish in misery.

[Almon, *Remembrancer*, 8:51–54]

CONGRESS ORDERS THE INDIAN EXPEDITION TO BE HURRIED

Saturday, July 25, 1778

* * * * * *

That it appearing most evidently that the late incursion at Wyoming and the adjacent parts, has been made by the Senecas and some other tribes of the Six Nations, aided by tories and other banditti, from the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, and Pensylvania, the expedition meditated against them from the northward be forwarded with all possible despatch, and that the Board of War take the necessary steps for that purpose:

That, in respect to the harvest, and the deplorable situation of the frontiers, in consequence of the late irruption of the enemy, Colonel Hartley's regiment be continued there till the retreat of the enemy be fully ascertained, the harvest secured, and the apprehensions of the inhabitants quieted.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.* 11:721]

THE BOARD OF WAR STOPS THE INDIAN EXPEDITION

At a Board of War, August 22d, 1778.

Present, Mr. Duer, Col. Pickering, Mr. Peters.

The Board of War to whom was referred the letter of Genl. Washington on the 3d inst. on the subject of the intended Northern Expedition against the Indians, having maturely considered the same are of opinion,

That from the Want of early Preparations, the advanced Season of the Year, it being not only too late to begin the Supplies but also for the attempting to assemble a sufficient Body of Men at a proper Place of Rendezvouz in Time to proceed in the Enterprize; the large Number of Men requisite for the carrying the Expedition thro' with Safety and the Danger of weakening the Grand Army at this Time, much diminished by large Detachments; the greater Importance of the Objects which at this Time claim our Attention and to the Accomplishment whereof our whole Force is barely sufficient, and little Assistance to the intended Expedition to be expected from the Northern Militia, and the Probability that in a Change of Circumstances in this Quarter the Indian Ravages will cease of Course, it is impracticable and imprudent to proceed on the said Expedition. Wherefore, the Board beg Leave to report to Congress.

That the intended Expedition against the Senecas and other Hostile Tribes of the Northern Indians, mentioned in the Resolution of Congress of the 11th of June last, be for the present laid aside.

That Genl. Washington be directed to pursue such practicable Measures for the Defence of the Frontiers of the States exposed to the Incursions of the Northern Indians, as to him shall seem best adapted to present Circumstances calculated to check the Ravages of the Enemy and to protect the distressed Inhabitants of the said Frontiers.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 11:829]

COLONEL GUY JOHNSON REPORTS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN THE SUCCESSFUL RAIDS ON THE FRONTIERS

New York. 10. Septr 1778.

* * * * * *

Your Lordp will have heard before this can reach you of the successful incursions of the Indians and Loyalists from the Northward. In conformity to the Instructions I conveyed to my Officers, they assembled their force early in May, and one division under one of my Deputys (Mr Butler) proceeded with great success down the Susquehanna, destroying the Posts & settlements at Wioming, augmenting their number with many Loyalists, and alarming all the Country, whilst another Division under Mr Brandt, the Indian Chief cut off 294 Men near Schohare and destroyed the adjacent settlements with several Magazines from whence the Rebels had derived great recourses, thereby affording encouragement and opportunity to many friends of Government to join them. . . .

G. Johnson

[To Lord Germain] [*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:752]

COLONEL BELLINGER'S REPORT TO GOVERNOR CLINTON ABOUT THE ATTACK ON FORT DAYTON

German Flatts, Sept'r the 19th 1778.

May it please Your Excellence. I humbly beg to lay our distresses open to Your Excellency. On Thursday the 17th instant, about six in the morning, the Enemy attacked Fort Dayton, on the north side of the German Flatts and Burned and Destroy'd all the Houses, Barns, and Grain, and drove a great number of Horses, and horned Cattle away with them. The Church, Fort, together with two houses, is all that is left on that side, and they had two men kill'd and one wounded. The enemy tried to take Fort Dayton, but they kept them off. On the south side of the River, they began about six miles above Fort Herkimer, and Burn'd all the Houses, Barns, and Grain quite down

to the Church; at Fort Herkimer they tried to set fire to the Barn, but we sallied out with what men we could spare and kept them from Destroying any more houses.

Peter Bellinger, Colo.

[To Governor Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 4:47]

GOVERNOR CLINTON URGES WASHINGTON TO MAKE AN INDIAN EXPEDITION

Poukeepsie 15th October 1778

* * * * * *

I find it impossible to secure the Frontier Settlements ag't the Depredations of the Enemy by the utmost exertions I am able to make with the Militia, & I am lead to fear that unless some effectual Check can be given to their Opperations, exclusive of the Distresses which they bring on Individuals, who more immediately suffer by them, they will sensibly affect the public, as the last Settlements they have destroyed usually afforded greater supplies of Grain than any other of equal Extent in this State.

* * * * * *

[George Clinton]

[To General Washington]

[*Clinton Papers*, 4:163]

MAJOR WHITING REPORTS TO GENERAL HAND THE ATTACK ON CHERRY VALLEY

Fort Alden Cherry Valley Nov. 13, 1778.

Hon'd Sir, I embrace the earliest opportunity the present situation of our affairs would admit of, to inform you of the state of the Garrison. On the 11″ ins. the Enemy, nothwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, surprised us, having taken a scout of Sergt. & 8 of ours & took one & compelled him to pilot them to the officers Quarters. They push'd vigorously for the fort and had it not been for great activity & alertness of the Troops they had rushed within the lines. The Colonel fell in attempting geting to the Fort; the Lt. Col. Stacy was made prisoner, together with one Lt., one Ens., the Surgeon's mate & a few privates. We had about 6 or 8 of the Regt. killed, some missing. The enemy was very numerous; burnt all the buildings in the settlement, killed a great number of the inhabitants, men women & Children, carryed off many prisoners; some few that hid in the woods have got into the Fort. They collected all the cattle, horses & Sheep

they could and drove off; they paid us a second visit yesterday, but nothing of them has been discovered this day. Notwithstanding the earliest & repeated dispatches to the river have had no reinforcement from there. When we were first attacked, we had not a pound of bread pr man in garrison; had it not been for a barrel of powder & half a box of Catridges belonging to the Town, our ammunition would have failed us. One Scout, a Sergt. & 8 men that went by the Butternuts has not been heard off yet. I am with due respect Sir Your very humb. servant

Daniel Whiting

Genl. Hand Schonec'd.

P. S. We have a Soldier with his leg broken, that's necessary to be amputated; the Surg. has no Instruments; request a case to be sent if possible.

[*Clinton Papers*, 4:286]

AN INDIAN EXPEDITION PLANNED

Rochester Dec'r 14th 1778.

Dear Sir, I am just return'd from ascorting Brig'r Genl. Edw'd Hand as far as Luning kill on his way to the Minisinks. He has Rec'd orders from his Excellency General Washington, to take the Command of all the Troops on the Fruntiers from this place to Wiomen. Viz: the 2d N. Y. Regt; Pulaske's Legion; Armand's Core; the German & Colo. Hartley's Regts. With this force it is Intended with the approbation of the Commander in Chief, (Should the winter be favourable), to Destroy Chemung and other Indian towns on the Susquehanna; (this is at present Secret).

Philip Cortlandt

[To Governor Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 4:370]

THE INDIANS TO BE "LET LOOSE ON THE FRONTIER"

Out Post King's Bridge 24. December 1778.

My Lord. I will hazard my sentiments on some measures of the next campaign.

* * * * * *

That higher bounties be given to Provincial Recruits, and the clothing of Provincial Regiments (at least I wish of those raised in this Province) be sent from England to the Commanding Officers of said Corps, who might be made answerable for them.

* * * * * *

That the Indian Nations lying between Quebec and West Florida be let loose on the Frontiers of the revolted Colonies, unrestrained, excepting to Women and Children.

Wm Tryon

[To Lord George Germain]

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:756]

WASHINGTON OUTLINES INDIAN CAMPAIGN

Philadelphia, 31 January, 1779

Dear Sir:

* * * * * *

It is determined, at present, to carry the War into the Indian Country next Spring as early as the Season and the State of our Magazines will admit. No particular plan is yet fixed, nor are the places which will be the most proper objects of attack yet marked out. But as we may conclude that Fort Pitt will be one of the principal places from whence we shall commence our operations,—I must desire you will immediately upon the Rect. of this, set about making the following preparations and collecting the necessary intelligence of the State of the Country, Waters, &ca over which we shall probably pass. It will in the first place be necessary to provide Batteaux or Canoes (whichever may be thought most suitable for the Waters of that Country) for say 1000 or 1200 Men, and endeavor to form Magazines sufficient for the same number for three or four months. From your letter to me and those to the Board of War, I imagine you will be able to do little towards the latter, as the provisions must chiefly go from below, I shall therefore endeavor to put matters in a proper train for the formation of Magazines as early as possible, before I leave this town.

* * * * * *

But if an expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations should be determined upon in preference to the other [Detroit], it will be necessary to inquire how far the Force assembled at Pittsburg seemingly with an intent to operate either against the Indians upon the Ohio, or agt. Detroit may be turned to a co-operation with other Bodies from Albany—from the Susquehannah, or perhaps from both—To form a judgment of the practicability of this, the distance between Fort Pitt and the Country of the Six Nations especially the Senecas, who are most numerous, warlike and inimical of the whole, should be exactly ascertained, and whether the Country is generally level or hilly, dry or swampy. If there are more Routes than one, that which admits of most water carriage should be preferred for obvious reasons. When

the Northern Indians go to War with the Southern they fall into the Alleghany River and come down from thence to Fort Pitt. Whether they travel by land to the Alleghany or whether they make use of any water carriage is a matter worth enquiring into, they probably make use of the easiest and most expeditious Route, and if it serves them to come down to the Southward, it will be equally useful to us should we penetrate their Country. let it also be inquired how far this Route is wide of the falls of Niagara and Lake Erie.

Persons (either Indians or Whites) of trust should be hired for the several purposes before mentioned, they should not know that we ourselves are undetermined as to the plan of our operations, and then each party will suppose that the Route which they are sent to explore is the one by which we mean to carry on an expedition.

* * * * * *

Should our Arms be turned against the Six Nations, and the Indians upon the Ohio and Country West of it shew a disposition for peace, they should be encouraged in it by all means, as it would be bad policy to irritate them while we are employed another way. If we can reduce or force the Six Nations to a submission it will have an admirable effect upon all the Western tribes, who tho' perhaps full as powerful in fact, yet pay the utmost respect to them, and would not willingly offend a people who had chastised the most warlike Nations.

You will inquire what Roads and passes lead from the Northwestern Frontiers of Pennsylvania to Venango and other places upon Alleghany River above that post, and whether supplies for Troops in that quarter can be transported by such Roads or passes upon pack horses. You will inform yourself of the times that the Grass will have gained sufficient growth to subsist your Cattle and Horses and the Waters have fallen so as to make such of them fordable as are to be passed without Boats, that we may not begin to move from the Northward before you are ready. For whether there shall be a co-operation between your force and that from Albany and Susquehannah, or whether you act intirely in a different quarter from them, every good consequence will result from the attacks being commenced at the same time.

* * * * * *

After having obtained the best information that you can upon the several points before mentioned—giving necessary orders for the establishment of Magazines as far as the circumstances and situation of things in that part of the Country will admit, and seen the Batteaus or Canoes in a proper train for execution, you will be pleased to repair to Head Quarters that something precise and definitive may be deter-

mined in a personal conference respecting the operation of the Campaign. You had better bring, or send before you if it will save time, a list of such stores as will in your opinion be necessary for the execution of either of the plans before mentioned.

* * * * * *

[George Washington]

[To Brigadier-General McIntosh]

[Ford, *Washington*, 7:336–41]

WASHINGTON OFFERS THE COMMAND OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITION TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES

Middlebrook, 6 March, 1779.

Sir,

By the enclosed copy of a resolution of the 25th of February last, you will perceive it is the desire of Congress, that some offensive expedition should be carried on against the Indians the ensuing campaign. With an eye to a measure of this kind, I have some time since directed preparations to be made at such places, as appeared to me most proper for the purpose; to be completed by the first day of May next, at which time it is my intention, that the operation shall begin. The objects of this expedition will be effectually to chastise and intimidate the hostile nations, to countenance and encourage the friendly ones, and to relieve our frontiers from the depredations to which they would otherwise be exposed. To effect these purposes, it is proposed to carry the war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do them every other mischief, which time and circumstances will permit.

From the best information I have been able hitherto to collect, the whole number of warriors of the Six Nations, including the Tories who have joined them, will amount to about three thousand. To these must be added the aid they may derive from Canada, and from the British garrisons on the frontiers. The force we shall have it in our power to employ on the expedition will be about four thousand Continental troops, I mean rank and file fit for service, besides such aids of militia as may be deemed absolutely necessary. These, however, will not be large, as Congress are endeavouring to pursue a plan of strict economy, and to avoid calling out the militia, which is attended with great loss and expense. To obviate the necessity of it, I have strained the supply of Continental troops to the utmost extent, which a comparison of our collective force and that of the enemy will possibly permit. Three thousand of the abovementioned number will compose the main body; the remainder will be employed in different quarters to harass and dis-

tract the enemy, and create diversions in favor of the principal operation. It would be improper to hazard upon paper a more minute detail of the plan.

I am now to express my wish, that it may be agreeable to you to undertake the command of this expedition; in which case you will be pleased to repair to head-quarters without delay, to make the necessary previous arrangements and enter upon the business. The season is so far advanced, that not a moment's time is to be lost. But, as I am uncertain whether your health or other considerations will permit you to accept a command of this nature, and as the advanced state of the season already mentioned will not allow me to wait for an answer, I have enclosed a letter for General Sullivan, on whom, if you decline, it is my intention the command shall devolve. Should you accept, you will retain the letter and return it to me; if not, you will immediately transmit it to him. Whether you accept or not, you will be sensible of the necessity of secrecy. The less our design is known or suspected by the enemy, the more easy and certain will be its execution.

George Washington

[To Gen. Gates]

[Sparks, *Washington*, 6:187–89]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER DETERMINES TO HOLD THE ONONDAGAS

Niagara March 8th 1779

You will see by the Papers inclosed that the Rebels have their Emissaries At work in Every Quarter, and are using Every act to intimidate the Indians and draw them over to their Side. Part of the Onandagoes are already in their Interest, who wish to bring the rest to be so too; and their sending for those Home who are now here, is only that they may the more Easily work upon them for that purpose; and it is my opinion that if they should go we shall lose so many Friends. Your Excellency will see that I have made the Absence of some of their Chiefs, who are go to Conawagaras with an answer to Mr. Clinton's Letter, a Pretext for not giving them a posi[tive] Answer: I am nevertheless resolved not to let the Onandagoes go from [ ] or the Belt be sent to the Ohio; & if what I have already said be not [suffic]ient to stop them, I shall use such other means as circumstances may [point] out to be most proper. I have also given an Evasive reply to their Re[quest] of stopping the Scout, at the same time am determined that it [can] not be stopped.

John Butler

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:113]

WASHINGTON'S OFFER TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES CURTLY DECLINED

Boston, March 16, 1779

Last night I had the honor of your Excellency's letter. The man, who undertakes the Indian service, should enjoy youth and strength; requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me, that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal. In obedience to your command, I have forwarded your letter to General Sullivan, and, that he may not be one moment detained, I have desired him to leave the command with General Glover, until I arrive in Providence, which will be in a few days. You may be assured of my inviolable secrecy, and that your other directions shall be fulfilled.

[Horatio Gates]

[To General Washington]

[Sparks, *Washington*, 6:189]

WASHINGTON INSTRUCTS COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD, AT FORT PITT, TO PREPARE FOR THE INDIAN EXPEDITION

Head-quarters, Middlebrook, 22 March, 1779.

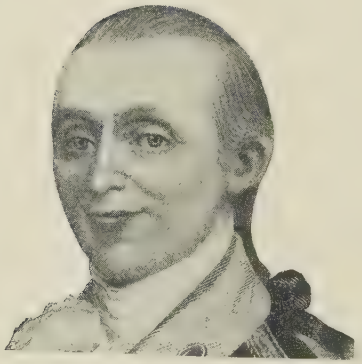
Sir,

I have directed Colonel Rawlings, with his corps consisting of three companies, to march from Fort Frederic, in Maryland, where he is guarding the British prisoners, to Fort Pitt, as soon as he is relieved by a guard of militia. Upon his arrival you are to detach him with his own corps and as many as will make up one hundred, should his companies be short of that number, to take post at Kittaning, and immediately throw up a stockade fort for the security of convoys. When this is accomplished, a small garrison is to be left there, and the remainder are to proceed to Venango, and establish another post of the same kind for the same purpose. The party is to go provided with proper tools from Fort Pitt, and Colonel Rawlings is to be directed to make choice of good pieces of ground, and by all means to use every precaution against a surprise at either post.

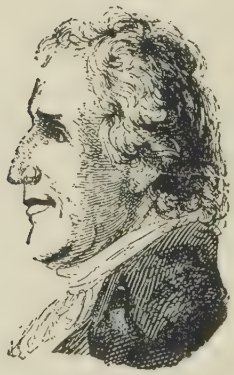
Colonel Gibson is to be ordered to hold himself ready to join you with his force, when matters are ripe for execution. But he is to keep his intended removal from Tuscarora a profound secret; and, when he receives his orders to march, let it be as sudden as possible. Hasten the water-craft by all means, that you may not have to wait for them, when other matters are ready. Neither the Indians nor any other

PETER GANSEVOORT

DANIEL BRODHEAD



PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT



MARINUS WILLETT

persons are to know your destination, until your movements point out the probable quarter. Engage at a proper season as many warriors as you can to accompany you, and at all events procure good guides, who know the way from the head of the navigation of the Allegany to the nearest Indian towns and to Niagara. After you have moved, let it remain a secret, as long as possible, to which place you are going. You are to inform me with precision, and by a careful express, when you will be ready to begin your movement from Fort Pitt, when you can be at Kittaning, when at Venango, when at the head of the navigation, how far it is from thence to the nearest Indian towns, and when you can reach them. In making your estimate of the times, you are to calculate upon moving as light as possible, and with only a few pieces of the lightest artillery. These things it is necessary for me to know, with as much accuracy as possible, that the plan of cooperation, upon which much depends, may be perfectly formed.

[George Washington]

[To Colonel Brodhead]

[Sparks, *Washington*, 6:205–7]

NEW YORK'S SUPPORT OF THE INDIAN EXPEDITION APPROVED BY CONGRESS

Thursday, April 1, 1779

A letter, of 13 March, from the legislature of New York to their delegates, was laid before Congress and read; Whereupon, Congress came to the following resolution:

Whereas the delegates of the State of New York have represented to Congress, that the legislature of that State taking into consideration the ravages committed by the Indians last fall, and the distresses occasioned thereby to a great number of families as well as the state at large; and that the said legislature considering the extreme difficulty and expence of covering an extensive frontier by posts against future incursions, have turned their attention to a western expedition against the Senecas, &c. as the cheapest and more eligible mode of securing the frontiers, and that they have empowered their governor to raise 1000 men by drafts from the militia for the defence of the frontiers:

Resolved, That Congress do approve of the spirited exertions of the said legislature, and the measures by them adopted to facilitate such enterprise: that the militia so to be raised shall be allowed continental pay and rations during their continuance in the said service; and that the Commander in Chief be immediately informed of the said levy, and be directed to give orders for their pay and subsistence accordingly.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 13:402]

JOHN ARMSTRONG INFORMS HORATIO GATES OF "TWO EXCURSIONS"

April 3, 1779

Two Excursions, or Expeditions if you will, I believe are intended, Northward and Westward, but the particular objects etc. are yet secrets to me, the General being gone out of Town before I arrived—The Seneca Indians etc. and perhaps Niagarra I fancy to the North, and Detroit to the West. this last I predicted against last year, nor are my eyes much clearer yet. I don't think the object adequate at present to the certain expence etc. . . .

John Armstrong

[To General Gates]

[Burnett, *Letters Cont. Cong.*, 4:136]

ABOUT THE VAN SCHAICK EXPEDITION

April 8th 1779

The repeated applications that are daily and hourly made to me by the distrissed Famelies from the Frontiers, for Provision, and the feelings of Humanity, have induced me, I believe, to exceed the Bounds of my authority in relieveing their Wants, which are truly melancholy. I shoud be glad to have your directions in a matter of such moment. If the assembly have made Provision for them, no time is to be lost, in the distribution of it—if they have not, the dreadfull consequence will be that they, or many of them must inevitably perish.

A detachment of five hundred Men commanded by Col. V. Schaick and Willet, are just marched, with a View of surprising and destroying the Onondaga Castle, and of making as many Prisoners as possible. The Plan has the Sanction of His Excellency, and if properly conducted, I think cannot fail of Success; as Secrecy is absolutely necessary, no Individual hath the least Intimation of it except the Officers commanding the Party, and those whose duty intitled them to know it. I am, Dear Brother,

Yours affectionately

[To George Clinton]

James Clinton

[*Clinton Papers*, 4:702–4]

GENERAL SULLIVAN OUTLINES THE INDIAN EXPEDITION TO WASHINGTON

Mill Stone, 16 April, 1779

Dear General,

As your Excellency has honored me with an appointment to command the intended expedition, I must beg leave to lay my sentiments before you in writing; as words used in conversation may vanish in air, and the remembrance of them be lost, while writing will remain, either to justify my opinion, or to prove that it was erroneous. The variety of reasons, which I urged yesterday, for passing with the main body up the Mohawk River, and down by Wood Creek to the Cayuga Lake, still have their weight in my mind; but, as General Schuyler writes that they cannot be supplied with provisions, the plan must be given up, and that of passing with the main body up the Susquehanna adopted.

The force which I have requested for that quarter, is three thousand effective men, after all proper deductions are made for guards at the several posts, for boatment, hospital guards, tenders, &c. &c. That these should be collected before we enter the Indian country, appears to me essentially necessary, as it is supposed that the principal opposition we shall meet will be between Wyoming and Tioga. Should this be the case, as seemed to be the general opinion in Council yesterday, we can derive no advantage from the party on the Mohawk River, as they are not to join us until we have established a post at Tioga. Should they attempt to join us before, they must be defeated in passing down the Susquehanna; and, should our numbers be such as to admit of a defeat before we arrive at Tioga, as we can have no communication with the other party, and they are to regulate themselves by a plan fixed before we march, they will remain ignorant of our defeat, and of course proceed at the time appointed, and in all probability fall into the hands of the enemy. If we are to expect the principal opposition before we arrive at Tioga, it is absurd to reckon, for part of our force, troops who are not to attempt joining us before we have passed the principal danger.

Indeed, I have no great dependence upon the advantages to be derived from so small a party in that quarter. It was yesterday said, that we might expect fourteen hundred Indians to oppose us in our march. Your Excellency will permit me to say, that fourteen hundred Indians, perfectly acquainted with the country, capable of seizing every advantage which the ground can possibly afford, perfectly acquainted with the use of arms, inured to war from their youth, and from their manner of living, capable of enduring every kind of fatigue, are no

despicable enemy, when opposed to three thousand troops, totally unacquainted with the country and the Indian manner of fighting, and who, though excellent in the field, are far from having that exactness with fire-arms or that alertness in a wooded country, which Indians have.

As so many facts have contributed to prove this, it will be unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject. If I was not a party concerned in this expedition, and my opinion was asked of the force necessary to insure success, I should give it, that the force of each party should be equal to the highest estimate of the enemy's force in that country, that they might be able to form a junction at all events, and put the matter beyond possibility of doubt; and, after that, they would be enabled to detach and conquer the country in an eighth part of the time that they would, if obliged, for their own safety, to keep in a body. I know that the estimated force of the Indians is small; but, when I consider that underrating the number of the enemy has been a prevailing error with us since the commencement of the war, that we have had persons from among them, both inhabitants and deserters, and have had the proceedings, debates, and calculations of Parliament before us, and yet have frequently mistaken their number more than one half, I cannot suppose but that we are still liable to fall into the same error, where we can have no evidence, and every thing told us respecting them is a mere matter of opinion. In addition to this, let me repeat what I observed yesterday, which is the probability of a force being sent from Canada by way of Lake Ontario. I also beg leave to observe that, when our advancement upon the Susquehanna is known, it will probably be conjectured that our intention is against Niagara, which will induce the enemy strongly to reenforce that post. This they may do in a fortnight, as it is but one hundred and ten miles from Montreal to Oswegachie, and their vessels can take troops from thence to Niagara in three or four days; and, when they find that our intention is against the Indian setttlements, those troops will undoubtedly join them. From these considerations it must appear that the demand I have made is far from being unreasonable, even exclusive of the party sent on their flanks. I well know that Continental troops cannot be spared for this purpose, but good militia should undoubtedly be called for. The expedition is undertaken to destroy those Indian nations, and to convince others that we have the power to carry the war into their country, whenever they commence hostilities. Should we fail in the attempt, the Indians will derive confidence from it, and grow more insolent than before.

I beg leave further to mention, that, in my opinion, the troops selected for this expedition are by no means equal to those they must

expect to encounter; especially the Pennsylvania troops, as they are principally made up of old countrymen, who are totally unacquainted with that kind of fighting, which they must adopt. I have conversed with General St. Clair upon this head, who is fully of my opinion. The best troops, in my opinion, for this expedition, are General Poor's brigade, who are all marksmen, and accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting. I think the Jersey troops good; the York troops I know nothing of; the other broken corps I can say nothing about, only that, when they come to act in a body with others, much cannot be expected from them.

Thus have I submitted my sentiments to your Excellency, and trust that my reasoning upon the subject must prove, that three thousand good and effective men, at least, will be necessary to march from Tioga, exclusive of those which your Excellency may think proper to direct to operate on the other flank of the enemy. I have the honor to be, with the most lively sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

John Sullivan

[To General Washington]

P. S. Since writing the above, I have shown it to General St. Clair, who says that his sentiments correspond with mine in every particular.

J. S.

[Sparks, *Corr. Amer. Rev.*, 2:264–68]

WASHINGTON WRITES COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD TO ABANDON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS

Head-Quarters, Middlebrook, 21 April, 1779.

Dear Sir,

Since my last letter, and upon a further consideration of the subject, I have relinquished the idea of attempting a cooperation between the troops at Fort Pitt and the bodies moving from other quarters against the Six Nations. The difficulty of providing supplies in time, a want of satisfactory information of the route and of the nature of the country up the Allegany River, and between that and the Indian settlements, and consequently the uncertainty of being able to cooperate to advantage, and the hazard which the smaller party might run, are principal motives for declining it.

* * * * * *

You will endeavour to obtain and transmit to me every kind of intelligence, which will be necessary to direct our operations, as precise, full, and authentic as possible. Among other points, you will try

to ascertain the most favorable season for an enterprise against Detroit. The frozen season, in the opinion of most persons, is the only one in which any capital stroke can be given, as the enemy can derive no benefit from their shipping, which must either be destroyed or fall into our hands. I am, &c.

[George Washington]

[To Colonel Brodhead]

[Sparks, *Washington*, 6:224]

CAPTAIN JOHN JOHNSTON HOPES TO HOLD THE INDIANS' LOYALTY

Cunnutarage April 21st 1779

Sir

Aadondanoya the Onandogus desires to be remembered to you and says, you may Relye on his Fidelity, and trust him as a faithfull friend as he is resolved to die in the Cause and Defense of His Majestys if calld to—in two days time he says he sets of for Onandango and Deliver his Oppinion openly and then Immediately returns when he hope to meet your answer to my letter the Warriors wish all that the Commanders of the Troops now desig'd for their assistance were Immediately made Acquainted with there situation he desires me to inform you that the Instant he Believes of Sch[u]ylers Calling the Meeting in to bring the Onidias Tuscaroras & Onandangos together & by fair promises or threats to see how many he has in his Interest or not & then to proceed against those who Refuse to Adhear to him & his with the Senecas as he declares Compliments of Aqondinoy to Col. Bolton and Col. Butler

I remain, Sir, yr.
Most obedt Hum[bl]e Servt.
John Johnston

[To Colonel John Butler]

[Endorsed] Aquandinoya Begs you would send him 4 Bags of Paint for the Warriors whom he will bring in our service in other particulars send him as much as you think you can spare it is true it is an article the Warriors wants for Encouragement.

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:135]

BRITISH REPORT ON VAN SCHAICK'S EXPEDITION

Cunnatasago April 22d 1779

Dear Sir/

this morning arrived Wm. of Onida who informs that the Rebels are on their March and on this side of Onandago surrounded a number of Women in the Corn field and made them Prisoners: the person who Brought the news from Onandago says that he see one wounded Cayu[a]ga in the woods Dr Sir with the utmost dispatch night and Day is humbly requested you will give us all the aid and assistance you can and if possable the Warriors desire you would also head the party they hope that Col. Bolton and you will now at this Juncture fulfill your promises

I still have the pleasure to subscribe myself His Majesty's faithfull Serv[an]t

John Johnston

[To Colonel John Butler]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:139]

REPORT ON RESULTS OF VAN SCHAICK EXPEDITION

Kingsburgh, 26 Apr. 1779

Dear Gentlemen: The General just now Received a letter from Coll. Van Schaick that he has Burnt and distroyed the Onondago Castel and taken 37 Prisoners and killed 20 and young men get a Dele of Plunder Indian Corn &c., I am yours &c.,

Jelles Fonda

[To Coll. Gansevoort Coll. Vischer &
Coll. Wemple Neare Mayfield]

[*Gansevoort Papers* (*Galley No.* 92)]

REBELS TO SEND 3000 MEN AGAINST THE FIVE NATIONS

[Written in late April 1779]

Dear Sir/

The Bearer who is just come from the Mohawk River, informs me that the Party who destroyed the Onandago Village returned immediately to Fort Stanwix carrying with them about thirty Onandagoes & five or six Cayonga women & children. About 400 men had come up from Albany, probably to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Stanwix who with 300 more from the Fort were the People that did the mischief. It does not appear that they have been near Oswego—It is now fifteen days since he came from Canojohary; he was informed, he says by, some friends to Government, that it was reported the Rebels intended

to send three thousand men this Summer against the five nations; he gives the same account of affairs in Georgia as we had in the N. York papers; & says there has lately been two actions between the main armies, in which the Rebels have suffered considerably & that the Armies were laying very near each other; he likewise says that he was informed that matters were likely soon to be accomodated. I am at a loss to reconcile these different stories.—We are within one Days march of the Genesee Village, and we are just going to decamp. The men are in general well & in good spirits. Please to make my Compliments to the Gentlemen of the Garrison.

I am Dear Sir, Your very Humble Servt.
John Butler

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:134]

WASHINGTON INSTRUCTS MAJOR GENERAL SULLIVAN

Given at Head Quarters Midd.
Brook May 4th 1779

Hamilton

Sir,

Having appointed you to take the command of an expedition which is to be carried on to the westward against the Indians of the Six nations—You will be pleased forthwith to repair to Easton, in order to superintend and forward the preparations, for that purpose.

You will previously make every necessary arrangement with the Quarter Master and Commissary General relative to your supplies of stores and provisions which ought to be hastened to the places of their destination with all possible dispatch:—The time, manner and route for conveying the cattle for this expedition ought to be particularly ascertained.

I have ordered a regiment from Poor's brigade to cross to Easton—another from Maxwell's will proceed there in a few days—But the troops should not be drawn together till the preparations are complete or nearly so, to avoid consumption of the provisions and stores, destined for the support of the expedition.

It is essential that the road from Easton to Wyoming be opened without delay, that the troops and supplies passing that way may meet with no obstruction.

You will open a correspondence with General Hand at Wyoming and instruct him to give all the aid he can with the troops under his command to accelerate the transportation of provisions and stores up the River. You will also direct him to put every engine in motion

to obtain the most precise intelligence of the enemy's situation and views—And in short you will make every exertion and employ every expedient to complete the preparations for penetrating into the India Country by way of Tioga on the Susquehannah on the plan which has been already explained—and may be finally adopted.*

[George Washington]

[To General Sullivan]

(*Washington Papers*, B VIII, pt 2, 263)

SULLIVAN'S FIRST REPORT

Easton, May 8th 1779

Dear General

I arrived here yesterday morning Spencers and Malcolms Regiments are Lying here not in the heighths of good Humor. Courtlandts Regt I can hear nothing of: Capt Craige Late of the Light Horse arrived This Day at 2oC p m from Mohacomac & Says he heard nothing of them though he Enquired I suppose they have not marched—I have Sent to Fort Penn for Capt Patterson & made every other enquiry Respecting the Roads all agree that the Indians Paths marked from Easton to Wioming on Scull's maps is impassable for waggons & cannot possibly be made So—but That there is a possibility of Compleating a Road from a Little above Pokono Point to Wioming This is the Road most Commonly used at this Time. it falls into the Indian Paths twelve miles at this Side Wyoming. There will be a number of persons with me tomorrow who are well acquainted with all the Roads if this Road cannot be made passable There is another Rout by Shoholly house where the Road is good but is Thirty Eight miles further perhaps this must Eventually be the Rout—There has not as yet been an attempt to prepare the other Road nor has any person been to Look at them I will do Every thing in my power to Set the wheels in motion & make the necessary preparations for the Army to move on—I find that the Expedition is no Secret in this Quarter—I find by Colo Spencer that Colo Linelley has no Thoughts of Resigning—he is now at home and has not been with his Regiment Six months During the Last two years Colo Spenser wishes to have him Left out & Colo Smith appointed your Excellencey may perhaps find a method to bring this about. General Hand is not yet arrived at Wyoming Colo Butler writes on the 4th that the Troops at Wyoming are in great want of ammunitions I shall send

* You will be pleased to consider these as preparatory instructions. When our plan of operations is ultimately fixed and ready for execution you will receive others more full and definite—

on Some as Soon as an Escort can be fixed which cannot be till Courtlands Regt arrives as the Indians being on Every part of the Road will render it necessary to have the escort very Strong—a Sergeant of Spenser who was made prisoner at Mohacomac & Carried to Chemung has just Returned he Enlisted with them & was in one of the parties Sent out to Cutt off the Communications between this place & Wioming he Says that They know of the Expedition & are taking Every Steps to Destroy the Communication on the Susquehannah and I think the Sooner we can get into the Country the Better.

I am Dear General with the most perfect
Respect Your Excellency's most obedt
Servt

Jno Sullivan

His Excey Genl Washington

(*Washington Papers*, 32:230)

OBSERVATIONS OF COL. VAN SCHAICK

Fort Schuyler, May 11, 1779

Sr: I am Sensible that I Neglected writing after my Return from the Onondaga Expedition to a friend so obliging as Mr. Glen but, Sr, you will Consider that much fatigued the attention I was obliged to pay to a person in High Rank and the who is placed above me was the first work that Ingrossed my attention that I judged from the Connextions at this place you Received Early & perfect account of our Success which I Believe is almost forgott. The people are not Sinsible what a good affect It has had among the Indians. The Onondaga warriors offer to go to what post we chuse to Direct them and Bring in what Number of prisoners and Scalp from the Enemy British we may Desire. I have Incouraged those Savages to do all the mischief they can to the Enemy. They frequently Send partys of messengers from Bucks Island to this Garrison but I have hitherto frustrated there Designs. I wish you to Desire the Deputy Commissary of purchases at Schenectady to send me two ten & two five gallon Caggs Very White theey are to be a publick Charge & are to be sent occasionally to our friendly Brethren. My Compliments to your Lady and your good self. Your ob't Serv't,

G. V. Schaick

[To Henry Glen, D Q M General,
Schenectady]

The Onondagas offer there service through the Onydes. Lett the Caggs be sent with the first opportunity.

[*Gansevoort Papers* (*Galley No.* 92)]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER REPORTS INDIAN INVASION

Genessee May 13th 1779

Dear Sir/

Last night I received a letter from Capt. Johnston informing me that a Body of the Rebels were on their way from Albany to make another attempt against the Indians, & that Cayouga is their object—this news was brought him by a Runner from Cayouga, whither the account came by an Indian immediat[e]ly from Albany—this Intelligence has been but five days by the way—the Indians are much alarmed at it. I shall march this morning with the Party for Canadasaga, and have sent orders to Capt. McDonald to join me there.—

Yesterday afternoon a prisoner was brought in who lived somewhere about Fort Pitt—he says he saw a Circular Letter from the Congress to the Inhabitants of the Frontiers, to encourage them not to forsake their Settlements—they promise that General Hand shall be sent with three thousand men up the Susquehanna, & General Wave with two regular Regiments & a large Body of Militia up the Allegany River for their Protection—He says they were preparing Boats upon the Allegany, and tells me that the Troops at Beaver Creek & the Tuskarawas were intended only to keep possession of those places and not to proceed any farther. It seems to be the intention of the Rebels to erect a chain of Forts all along their Frontiers—but whatever may be their intention, I think we may safely make considerable Deductions from the Accounts we get of their numbers.

I am
Dear Sir
Your very Humble Servant
John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:140]

WALTER BUTLER TELLS GENERAL HALDIMAND OF THE ENEMY'S ACTIVITIES

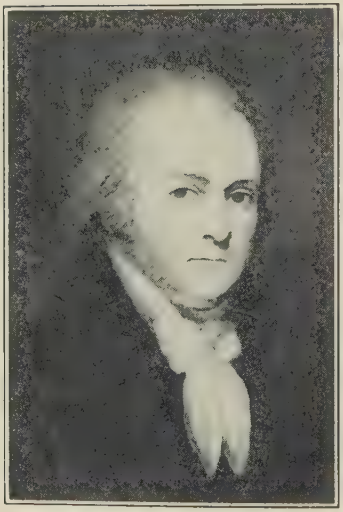
Niagara 20th May 1779

Sir/

It's some time since my arrival at this Post before which Major Butler with the Corps had moved towards the Frontiers; the Enemy having made movements which alarmed the Five Nations, & from several accounts expected they would Invade their Country, both by Fort Stanwix and the River Suskahana—he is at present at Canadasagoe, a Seneka Town on the lower part of the Seneka Lake; and

Col. John Butler

Joseph Brant



Sir John Johnson

Red Jacket

the present Council Fire of the five Nations, watching the Enemies Motions and taking such measures as will best secure the Indian Country and tend to protect the Posts and support the Indians in their Alliance with the Crown. The particulars from them Colonel Bolton will inform your Excellency of, having Yesterday an Express from the Major.

Walter Butler

[To Gen. Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:129]

RUMORS MENTIONED BY COLONEL JOHN BUTLER

Canadasaga May 21st 1779

Two of Joseph's Friends, an Oneyda and Cayouga, who are just returned from Oneyda inform me that the Rebels, who were on their march towards Fort Stanwix, were recalled, & all the Troops upon the Mohawk River immediately ordered down to Albany: they say the Oneyda's are much discontented at the Behaviour of the Rebels towards the Onandagoes who had promised to join them, and threaten'd to act with the rest of their Brethern against them: if they do not release those they have taken Prisoners.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:157]

INDIANS READY TO MEET THE REBELS

Canadasago May 28th 1779

Col Bolton has doubtless acquainted your Excellency with the occasion of my leaving Niagara & every thing material that has since occurred. The alarm spread among the Indians by the Destruction of Onandago made it highly necessary for me to march immediately into their Country, and my appearing with the Rangers amongst them, has had Every good effect. The prospect of a Force at Oswego makes them very happy, and I have the pleasure to inform Your Excellency that they seem as much disposed as ever to exert themselves against the Rebels: they are constantly going out in Parties all along their Frontiers, even as far up as Fort Pitt & beyond it, & seldom fail of success in their Excursions, so that it is probable the Frontier Settlements will be almost entirely broken up. It is probable that the Affair of Onandago will serve further to confirm the Indians in their Attachment to Government, as the People Killed & taken at that place

were chiefly in the Rebel Interest. I shall at least, Endeavour to derive every advantage from it which it will give me, for that Purpose.

John Butler

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:135]

ONONDAGAS SETTLED AMONG SENECAS

Canadsaga May 28th 1779

I have got the Families of the Onandagoes, that have escaped, to settle in the different Villages among the Senecas to plant their Corn &c. but have been obliged to promise them that I would desire of you to let them have a little Provisions to help to support themselves in the mean Time; I have given them Papers expressing the number of each Family: tho' I know the importance of the Article of Provision, & how ill it can be spared, I could not avoid doing this, as they have not been able to bring off a single thing with them, & we cannot let them starve.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:180]

INSTRUCTIONS OF WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SULLIVAN

Head-Quarters, 31 May, 1779

The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capure of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground & prevent their planting more—The troops to be employed under your command are Clinton's, Maxwell's. Poor's and Hand's brigades, and Independent Companies raised in the State of Pennsylvania. In Hand's brigade I comprehend all the detached corps of Continental troops now on the Susquehanna, and Spencer's regiment. Cortlandt's I consider as belonging to Clinton's brigade; Alden's may go to Poor's, & Butler's & the rifle corps to Maxwell's or Hand's.

Clinton's brigade, you are informed, has been ordered to rendezvous at Canajoharie, subject to your orders, either to form a junction with the main body on the Susquehanna, by the way of Otsego, or to proceed up the Mohawk River and cooperate in the best manner circumstances will permit, as you judge most advisable. So soon as your

preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming, and proceed thence to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of The Indian Settlements. You will establish such intermediate posts, as you think necessary for the security of your communication and convoys; nor need I caution you, while you leave a sufficiency of men for their defence, to take care to diminish your operating force as little as possible. A post at Tioga will be particularly necessary, either a stockade fort, or an intrenched camp; if the latter, a block-house should be erected in the interior. I would recomd. that some post in the center of the Indian Country, should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions; whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely *overrun*, but *destroyed*.

I need not urge the necessity of using every method in your power to gain intelligence of the enemy's strength, motions, and designs; nor need I suggest the extraordinary degree of vigilance and caution which will be necessary to guard against surprises from an adversary so secret, desultory, and rapid as the Indians.

If a detachment operate on the Mohock River, the commanding officer should be instructed to be very watchful that no troops come from Oswegatchie and Niagara to Oswego without his knowledge: and for this purpose he should keep trusty spies at those three places to advertise him instantly of the movement of any party and its force. This detachment should also endeavor to keep up a constant intercourse with the main body.

I beg leave to suggest, as general rules that ought to govern your operations, to make rather than receive attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise, as possible; and to make the troops act in as loose and dispersed a way as is consistent with a proper degree of government, concert, and mutual support. It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men, whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war-whoop and fixed bayonet. Nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this.

More than common care will be necessary of your arms and ammunition from the nature of the service—They should be particularly inspected after a rain or the passage of any deep water.

After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements, if the indians should show a disposition for peace, I would have you encourage it, on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity, by delivering up some of the principal

instigators of their past hostility into our hands: Butler, Brant, the most mischievous of the Tories, that have joined them, or any others they may have in their power, that we are interested to get into ours. They may possibly be engaged, by address, secrecy, and stratagem, to surprise the garrison of Niagara, and the shipping on the Lakes, and put them into our possession. This may be demanded, as a condition of our friendship, and would be a most important point gained. If they can render a service of this kind, you may stipulate to assist them in their distress with supplies of provisions and other articles of which they will stand in need; having regard, in the expectations you give them, to our real abilities to perform. I have no power at present to authorize you to conclude a treaty of peace with them, but you may agree upon the terms of one, letting them know that it must be finally ratified by Congress, and giving them every proper assurance that it will. I shall write to Congress on the subject and endeavor to obtain more ample and definitive authority.

When we have effectually chastised them, we may then listen to peace, and endeavor to draw further advantages from their fears. But, even in this case, great caution will be necessary to guard against the snares, which their treachery may hold out. They must be explicit in their promises, give substantial pledges for their performance, and execute their engagements with decision and despatch. Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended on. Should Niagara fall into your hands in the manner I have mentioned—you will do every thing in your power for preserving and maintaining it, by establishing a chain of posts, in such manner as shall appear to you most safe and effectual and tending as little to reduce our general force as possible—This however we shall be better able to decide as the future events of the campaign unfold themselves—I shall be more explicit on the subject hereafter.—When you have completed the objects of your expedition, unless otherwise directed in the mean time, you will return to form a junction with the main army, by the most convenient, expeditious, and secure route, according to circumstances. The route by the Mohawk River, if it can be pursued without too great a risk, will perhaps be most eligible on several accounts. Much should depend on the relative position of the main army at the time. As it is impossible to foresee what may be the exigencies of the service in this quarter, this united with other important reasons makes it essential that your operations should be as rapid and that the expedition should be performed in as litle time as will be consistent with its success and efficacy.

And here I cannot forbear repeating my former caution, that your troops may move as light and as little encum[bered] as possible even

from their first outset—The state of our magazines demands it as well as other considerations—if much time should be lost in transporting the troops and stores up the River—the provision for the expedition will be consumed, & the general scantiness of our supplies will not permit their being replaced—consequently the whole enterprise may be defeated. I would recommend it to you for this purpose that the General Officers should make an actual inspection of the baggage of their several brigades and absolutely reject to be left behind at proper places, every article that can be dispensed with on the expedition—This is an extraórdinary case and requires extraordinary attention. Relying perfectly upon your judgment, prudence, and activity, I have the highest expectation of success equal to our wishes; and I beg leave to assure you, that I anticipate with great pleasure the honor, which will redound to yourself, and the advantage to the common cause, from a happy termination of this important enterprise.

[George Washington]

[To General Sullivan]

[Ford, *Washington*, 7:460–63]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER REPORTS ON THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION

Canadasago June 5th 1779

Sir,/

The Alarm we had here the 1st Inst which gave us the trouble of going to Cayouga proved to be without Foundation; The Report of the Enemy's advancing was occasioned by some Tracks that had been observed by some of the Indians, who took it for granted that they were those of an Enemy, and set the whole Country in motion:

I have sent Aaron & David with two Parties down to the Mohawk River; they mean to go very low down & bring off a Prisoner that will be able to give us some certain Intelligence of what the Rebels are doing. The Messisaugoes are gone with them. Lieut. H. Hare is with the one Party & young Mr. Johnston with the other, & a few of the Rangers.

* * *

The Indians desired them to acquaint Genl Clinton that they were still firm, Friends & meant to continue so; that from the accounts they had of his Numbers being much increased they were in Hopes that he would this Summer assist them in opening the ancient Road and Communications between them and their Father the King; that they had their Spies upon the Mountains, and as soon as the noise of his guns was heard, would Endeavour to cut their way to him.

The Provisions I have been able to collect in the Country is almost expended & we have not more at present than will last us a day, or two at the most. I have sent out Mr. Pawling in quest of Cattle but it is uncertain whether he will get any; at any rate he will not be able to get many, so that it will neither be possible for us to go further on, nor get to remain here much longer, unless I can get more Cattle than I have any prospect of at present.—When the Scouts return I shall send you a particular account of what Intelligence they bring, from which perhaps you will be able to judge whether it will be necessary for the Rangers to remain longer in this Country or not.

Capt. Butler's going out towards Presqu'Isle and Vaningo may probably be of service as I make no doubt but he will be joined by many Indians from the Ohio; but it will be necessary for him to have Provisions & Amunition as well for the Indians who will join him, which 'tis likely will be an hundred or more, as for those who go with him from Niagara. The Indians here would immediately send Parties that way, if they were certain the Enemy were not making preparations to attack them, and have sent to Encourage their Brethern in that Quarter to be Vigilant and Active.

* * *

I shall be obliged soon to send for more Amunition, as we had not Enough to supply all the Indians, who from the scarcity of Provisions consume more of it than ordinary, by firing at every little Bird they see.

John Butler

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:184]

WASHINGTON TELLS GENERAL CLINTON TO BE READY "TO MOVE EITHER WAY"

Head Quarters Smiths
Clove June 10 1779

Sir,

I have received your two favours of the 28th of May and 6th of June —

I hope before this you will have received instruction from General Sullivan respecting the precise line of conduct you are to observe. Whether your destination shall be up the Mohock River or to form a junction in the first instance with the main body at the head of Susquehannah is a point I have left to him to decide and to give you directions accordingly. But as the preparations on the Susquehannah are completed and the main body all in motion towards Wyoming; it is essen-

tial you should be ready to move either way at the shortest notice. Should there be any delay on your part when you are required to commence your operations the consequences may be very disagreeable. I therefore leave it with you to make whatever additional preparations you find necessary to enable you to comply with a sudden call. The Quarter Master is directed to consult you and execute your orders. The providing teams or pack horses beforehand depends on the ease or difficulty of procuring them in a hurry — I leave it with you to do as you think proper; but I expect that you will be at all points prepared instantly to comply with whatever orders you may receive from General Sullivan for the purpose of a perfect cooperation either way.

With respect to what Col Van Schaick mentions of his being deficient in the means of rewarding the Indians for their services — if he should mean merely a want of money, you will give him a warrant on the Pay Master with you for the necessary sum — If he means articles of Clothing &c. you will be pleased to make an application to The Commissioners of Indian affairs who I can say will do everything in their power to supply him.

It is prefectly agreeable to me that Capt Graham should succeed the vacancy to which he is entitled — You will be pleased to send me a regular certificate specifying the time & manner of the vacancy and that Capt Graham is the oldest Captain in the New York line — This I will transmit to the Board of war that his commission may be made out accordingly; in the meantime his appointment may take place by a brigade order.

Major Popham who I presume was your former Brigade Major may continue with you as Aide De Camp with the same rank and pay — I wish Major Fish's health may permit him to accept the Brigade Inspectorship.

George Washington

[To General James Clinton]

[*Washington Papers*, B IX, pt 1, 233]

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON PREPARES FOR HIS EXPEDITION

Albany, June 13th 1779.

Dear Wife, The Day before yesterday I went with my Baggage to Schenectady and bid farewell at Albany, but after I sent of the Regts., to Conojoharie I Returned to get an opportunity to settle some affairs of my own, and send you some things which I Expected I Could do

without being Interupted, but in vain, for I Cant write a Letter without being Disturbed by somebody.

* * *

I have Concluded to Leave Capt. Gregg in Albany with a small party of Invalids as a guard to the stores and to Receive the sick from the Hospital on their Recovery. I have left him for several Reasons, though if it were not on his sisters acc't he would not be pleased. I tell him my Reason for leaveing him is, that if the Indians ketches him again they will Cut of his head as scalping Cant kill him.

* * *

I set of tomorrow for Conojoharie, where I will be some Days getting the Boats and stores across to the Head of the Susquehanah, as we are to go Down that River. Your Brother has marched with the Regt. I Received yours by Mr. Umphry but Mr. Gale was gone before I wrote by him. If you Can, let me hear from you once more. Capt. Gregg will forward it. I have much more to write if I had time, but must Conclude with my Love to you, and the Children, my Brother, Mother and all the Rest of the family. May God Bless and preserve you from all Danger untill we meet again.

* * *

I must now bid you all farewell, but Expect to write you again from Conojoharie before I leave it. I am, Yours Affectionately,

James Clinton

[To Mrs. Mary Clinton] [*Clinton Papers*, 5:82]

WASHINGTON KEEPS SCHUYLER POSTED

Smith's in the Clove June the 13 1779

Dear Sir

I received last night your favour of the 8th Instant and I hope General Clinton is now moving according by the routes and according to the Orders he has received from General Sullivan, under whose command he has been entirely placed for some time past and of which I advised him by Two different conveyances, besides writing to him thro the hands of General Sullivan. As it was conceived best that the Troops composing his command should not collect at Conajoharie till the main body of the detachment with General Sullivan was nearly ready to move towards Wyoming, he was only directed to have things in such a train as to be able to assemble there upon the shortest notice as the point of rendezvous in the first instance and to proceed from thence either to form a junction on the Susquehannah at Tioga or to

move up the Mohawk River as he might be ordered — He is entirely as I have observed under Genl Sullivan's direction.

With respect to Company of Gansevoorts Regiment remaining to guard the Stores — as General Sullivan has been promised those Troops and I would not willingly afford the most distant ground for complaint. I would wish it to rejoin the Regiment if the Troops have not proceeded so far as to render it hazardous or impracticable if other circumstances will permit it to be done. This is my wish, however, if a tolerable number of the late drafts have joined the Regiments with General Clinton, I shall have no great objection to the Companys remaining, tho the troops should not be out of reach if an equal number of Militia cannot be easily procured to answer the purposes for which it was left. I will leave the matter with you being perfectly convinced that you will do in it as circumstances shall require, and request that you will inform the Officer commanding the Company of the line of conduct he is to pursue.

The situation of the Enemy on the North River is much the same as it was when I wrote you on the 9.

We have had for some days past very flattering reports thro various channels of the success of our Arms at the Southward and I am very anxious for their confirmation. Mr Jay in a Letter of the 7th transmitted me the following which he said was all the intelligence Congress had received from South Carolina, except what you will have seen before in the Newspapers —

"A person &c insert it —

If this account should prove true it will be most interesting — and if it should not or something like it — there has been a strange concurrence of lies

I have the Honor to be
with great attachment & respect
Dr. Sir Yr Most Obed Servt
G. Washington

P. S. You will be pleased to have the inclosed delivered to the Officer commanding the Company belonging to Gansevoort's Regiment. I have informed him that he will receive orders from you as to his joining his Regiment or remaining at Albany.

To
Genl Schuyler
June 13 1779

[*Washington Papers*, B IX, pt 1, 249]

BUTLER'S 300 LOYALISTS—SCARCITY OF FOOD

Canadasago June 18th 1779

Sir,/

I am now expecting in ten small Cattle, and shall not be able to get any more: I have sent to Every part of the Indian Country & have made use of the few that were to be had by any means at any place. The Party under my command is near three hundred strong Exclusives of Indians, and I find myself under the necessity of ordering them to Irondequot tomorrow that they may be supplied with Provisions from Niagara, otherwise we cannot subsist, as every Resource in this Country is exhausted & the Indians themselves starving. I shall myself await your further orders at this Place, and beg that in the mean time you will send a supply of Provisions to Irondequot as soon as possible. I have made every effort to support myself as long as I could without troubling you for Provisions, as I know how precious an article they are, but I can no longer avoid it & unless you send us some speedily, we cannot support ourselves in the Country, or Even get enough to carry us out of it.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:187]

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON INFORMS WASHINGTON OF HIS PREPARATIONS

Camp Canajoharie Creek, June 19, 1779.

This day I was honoured with your Favour of the 13th Instant.— I wrote you some time since, which I find you have not yet received — I would beg leave to inform your Excellency, that I arrived in this place last Wednesday and immediately commenced transporting the Batteaux and Stores to the landing of Lake Otsego — since which time I have sent off near 300 waggons, fifty-nine of which are loaded with Batteaux the remainder with provisions — I have posted detachments of the Troops along the Road, to repair the damages done by the waggons and escort them from Fort to Fort until they arrive at the landing. Col'l. Dubary, with his regiment are bringing up a Fleet of Boats from Schenectady which are not yet arrived. * * * *

Col'l. V'Schaick waited on me just now on his way from Fort Schuyler to Albany to take the Command in my absence. He informs me that a party of Onondaga Indians had returned from Buck Island with two Prisoners, who assert that the enemy had received no reinforcement from Canada this year, that their whole force in Canada

consisted only of two thousand eight hundred, so that no reinforcements were expected — that Butler was in Niagara and Brant in the Seneca Country.

[James Clinton]

[To General Washington]

[*Mag. of Hist.*, 24:179]

NEED OF CATTLE AND AMMUNITION

Canadasagoe June 24th 1779

Sir/

Instead of Ten I got Eighteen Cattle, by means of some half Joes which I was obliged to borrow, and have discovered the Reason which has made it so difficult for me to get any Cattle from the Indians. Some Persons at Niagara either out of Jealousy, or from some other motive, have endeavoured to persuade the Indians that they were imposed upon, that they were paid too small a price for their Cattle. that for the future they ought to demand twelve Pounds a Head & that in Ready Money which they could always get for them at Niagara, and have succeeded so well that scarce the smallest article is to be got without immediate Payment, which obliges me to send Lieut Wm Johnston to Niagara to fetch me a quantity of Cash, as well to pay what I have borrowed, as to enable me to purchase more Cattle.

I have this morning sent off Lieut. Thompson, with about Forty men to some Place upon the Susquehanna where, I am informed the Rebels have a number of Cattle, which he is to endeavour to drive off, and get what Intelligence he can of the Enemy's designs and give them such annoyance as he shall find opportunity for: Capt[ain] Rowland Montour with about Fifty or Sixty Delawares are to join him. I hope also in a day or two, to be able to send off Capt. McDonald & sixty men with a number of Indians to the Mohawk River upon the same Design. I am induced to no this as there seems no further accounts of the Enemy's coming into the Country, and by the best Intelligence, there is the highest probability of their Success, & great likelihood of their being able to bring off a number of Cattle; at the same time these Detachments will so diminish the number of the party, that such as remain will be much more easily supplied.

'Tho I have not ordered the Party to Irondequot as I thought I should be obliged to do, it will nevertheless be absolutely necessary to send the Provisions I wrote for, and about 500 Cwt of Powder & 200 Cwt of Ball, & please to Acquaint me when you send it off, that I may judge what Time it may be at Irondequot. Perhaps I may still

be under the necessity of going hither after I have Dispatched Capt[ain] McDonald & Party.

A Runner came in yesterday Evening informing us of the success of the Party under Aaron & young Mr. Johnston, they have taken eighteen Prisoners from somewhere about Schohary. I expect them here within two days. The Mississaugoes have behaved very well on the occasion, except in insisting upon bringing away with them three Women; there were a great many taken, but all sent back again unhurt but these three. Some of Aarons Prisoners say that the Continental Troops from Schoharry and the German Flats were all gone up to Fort Edward. The Mississaugoes desire that their Families may be acquainted that they are all well.

I daily expect to hear from Lieut. Henry Hare who is gone down to Fort Hunter; & also from a Party of Cayougas lately gone to the Big Island, a Place upon the Susquehanna.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant

John Butler

27th . . . The Oneydas have sent to the Senecas and Cayougas requesting their advice in what manner to act: & the majority of them declare they will even come off if the rest of the Indians think it best for them, but say it is necessary to keep their Intentions private for fear of being treated as the Onandagoes were. The Indians are now in Council about the matter, and by the next opporunity I shall send you a particular Acct. of it.

I think it shows that the affairs of the Rebels are in a very unpromising situation, or the Oneydas wou[l]d not think of deserting them.

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:210]

WASHINGTON CRITICISES GENERAL SULLIVAN FOR PAYING SO MUCH ATTENTION TO SUPPLIES

New Windsor, 1 July, 1779

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter from Genl. Clinton at Canajoharie, which has filled me with inexpressible concern, as I apprehend the worst consequence to the Expedition under your command, from the measures, which have been pursued there. My intention, and which I thought sufficiently explained and known to you, was, that the Troops under the command of Genl. Clinton should be at Canajoharie and in the vicinity with Boats ready to proceed up the Mohawk River, or

across to Otsego, as you should under a full consideration of all circumstances and information resolve on; and that, if the latter should be the choice, he should move rapidly over, quite light, with a sufficient stock of provisions and stores only to serve him till he could form his junction with you at Tioga, where every thing was to be provided.

Instead of this he had transported, and by the last accts. was transporting, Provisions and stores for his whole Brigade three months and 220 or 30 Batteaux to receive them; by which means in the place of having his design concealed till the moment of execution and forming his junction with you, in a manner by surprise, it is announced, the enemy watching him, and, instead of moving light, rapidly, and undiscovered, he goes encumbered with useless supplies, and has his defence weakened by the attention he must pay to convoy and the length of his line, at a time when more than probable, the whole force of the enemy will be employed to oppose him. I did not expressly require that Genl. Clinton, in case of his forming a junction with you at Tioga, should proceed without provisions and stores; but, from the whole scope and tenor of our several conversations on the subject, the difficulties and dangers that were apprehended in ye rout, the preparations that were making for the whole force on the Susquehanna, & other circumstances, I had not a doubt of its being fully understood, and took it for granted, when he was placed under your orders, that he would have been instructed accordingly. * * * I am, dear Sir, &c.

[George Washington]

[To General Sullivan]

[Ford, *Washington*, 7:477]

REBELS COMING UP THE SUSQUEHANNA

Canadasagoe July 3rd 1779

Sir,/

It seems now beyond a Doubt that the Rebels are coming up the Susquehanna. A Deserter came in this morning who left Wioming eleven days ago; He says that a General Hand was already there with six hundred men and two small pieces of Cannon, and that the Generals Sullivan & Maxwell were daily expected with nine Regiments and as many pieces of Cannon; he says, it was talk'd of amongst them that another army was to come from the Northward. and a third across from Fort Pitt or Fort George, and that their Designs is to cut off the Indians as they came along, and then join their Forces to attack Niagara. He says they have already got Six hundred Pack Horses together, and are to have four hundred more, and that they had a great number of Boats laying in the River, and that part of the Troops were encamped about

Five miles above Wioming. This Intelligence has stop't L[ieu]t Thompson — Runners are now going off to the different Villages to collect the Indians: I shall therefore be in absolute want of a further supply both of Provisions and Ammunition, and must beg of you to send off Mr. Seacord with what Horses can be got at Niagara with a Quantity of this latter article as soon as possible; the Provisions you will, I suppose send to Ironduquot.

A Scout of Indians that were going a few days ago to Wioming, are returned, & say they saw a number of People encamped at a Place about forty miles higher up the River than Wioming.

The Indians upon the Susquehanna are entirely out of amunition, Mr. Thompson has been obliged to give them part of what the Rangers, who are with him, had.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble Servant
John Butler

P. S. Please to send with the Amunition about two gross of Knives and 50lbs Paint —

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:200]

STORES, FOOD, TROOPS

Head Quarters New Windsor July 5 1779

Sir

Since mine to you of the 3d I have received yours of the 29th of June—I am glad to find that your second arrival of stores and provisions was in better condition than the first—I hope what you still expect may prove equally good—

I have received a letter from General Clinton of the 30th of June by which I find that his taking so large a quantity of provisions and stores with him was in obedience to your orders—I cannot but be extremely apprehensive that this party will be exposed to the most imminent hazard from so great an incumbrance of stores, especially under the intelligence you communicate of the enemy's assembling at Chonowactatine. We may expect their whole force will be bent against General Clinton—Notwithstanding my apprehensions I would not undertake to interfere with your arrangements but shall leave him to act as you direct; at the same time I must entreat you to consider whether he may not still disembarrass himself of a part of his stores. This will depend materially on your own immediate prospects of supply if they appear sufficient, I am of opinion it will be adviseable

for General Clinton to send back to Conajoharie all his provisions & stores more than are necessary for his subsistance & security 'till he joins you. In this case I would endeavour to prevail upon the Governor to have some Militia from that part of the Country ordered out to take charge of the stores at Conojoharie and convey them to a place of safety—If you from a full consideration of circumstances are of the same opinion you will give directions accordingly and inform me of them. This measure besides the good effect of disencumbering the detachment will serve to puzzle the enemy and render our real designs equivocal.

I approve of your intention of reaching Tioga before General Clinton moves from Otsego. Would it be prudent to carry the idea still further by moving on to meet him towards Owego or Chenango as far as it can be done with safety? This would certainly tend to distract and awe the Indians and facilitate your junction. But it is a matter I only mean to suggest for your consideration.

I observe your force by a late return including Clintons amounted to 3,500 men fit for duty—Clinton's at the time his return was made to you (though his numbers have augmented since) were probably 1000—This leaves you 2500—You say you shall only be able to march fifteen hundred men from Wyoming—a thousand therefore must be employed as Garrisons escorts &c. This number is far more considerable than I can conceive necessary. Your posts of communication need not be numerous nor large; it appears to me that less than one third of the number would suffice for them and for contingent services—It is essential that your operating force should be as great as possible—In order that it may be the less requisite to leave a large part of your troops to guard your communication I have again written to the Council of Pennsylvania urging the necessity of sending you a reinforcement of five or six hundred men of some fort or other to be employed in this way and enable you to keep your Continental force in a body. These may serve to strengthen the garrison you leave behind and protect your convoys. I hope the application may succeed, it shall be pressing and pointed—

I send you some intelligence lately received from Canada. It is from a friend there who covers himself by assuming the Stile of a Tory. From this account it appears that 700 men have been sent from Canada to reinforce the savages—

Yrs

G W

To Genl. Sullivan

Washington Papers, W, July 5, 1779

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON WRITES TO HIS WIFE ABOUT HIS EXPEDITION

Camp at the South End of Otsego Lake, July 6th, 1779

I Left Conojoharie the 1st of July and am now at this place with all the Regiments and Stores for the Expedition, and only wait for orders to march; we have 208 Bateauxs in the Lake and a great quantity of Provisions and other Stores and although the Distance of the Carrying place was at Least twenty miles and the Road Exceeding bad. we got all over with Expedition and not a Single Accident.

* * *

My Detachment will Consist of about 2000 men, Includeing Officers Voluntiers and twenty five Indians who are all healthy and in high spirits.

I have nothing further to acquaint you of, Except that we apprehend a Certain Lt. Henry Hare and a Serjt. Newberry, both of Coll. Butler's Regt., who Confesed that they left the Seneca Country with Sixty three Indians and two white men, which Divided themselves in three parties, one party was to attack Schoharry, another party Cherry Valley and the Mohawk River, and the other party to Sculk about Fort Schuyler and the upper part of the Mohawk River to take prisoners or Sculps. I had them tryed by a Genl. Court Martial for spies, who sentenced them both to be hanged, which was Done accordingly at Conojoharrie, to the Satisfaction of all the Inhabitants of that place that were friends to their Country, as they were known to be very active in almost all the Murders that were Committed on these Frontiers; they were Inhabitants of Tryon County and had Each a wife and several Children who Came to See them and beg their Lives.

James Clinton

[Mrs Mary Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:122]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER EXPECTS MORE INDIAN ALLIES

Canadasaga July 7th 1779

Sir,/

Yesterday evening came in a Cachnawaga Indian who has been long at Oneyda; he pretends to have left the Rebels; says he is sorry he suffered himself to be so long deluded by them, and promises to act a very different part for the future. Along with him came one who was sent from here to the Oneydas; he brings a message from them to the Senecas importing that there are about Forty Warriors who now mean to follow their Advice & come off with their Families, & in order to

disguise their real design from the Rebels will pretend they are going to the head of Oneyda Lake to fish. These are Tuskaroras: the Onandagoes & some of the Oneydas declare they will do the same as soon as their Chiefs return, who are gone to Albany to try once more to procure the Onandagoes their Liberty who are Prisoners there.—I will not pretend to say whether the Oneydas, and the others who are among them are really in earnest, or only mean to gain time till they see what turn affairs are likely to take before they finally declare themselves. But the Indians seem not to doubt their sincerity in the least.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:206]

GENERAL SULLIVAN EXPLAINS HIS DELAY TO GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters Wyoming July 11th 1779

Dear Sir, I am this moment favoured with yours of the 6th instant, am happy to find you in such perfect readiness. I have been disappointed, and delayed respecting Provision and Stores in the most surprising manner. I hope, however, to march in a few Days, and shall notifie you in the manner you mention, also Governor Clinton. It is agreed in Council that this army is to reach Tioga by the Day prefixed for your march, that we may be ready to move up the Susquehanna to meet and couver you, in case we find the Enemy bending their Force against you, which I have great reason to expect. Genl. Washington has wrote me as he has you, but I have undeceived him, by showing him, that in case you depended on our magazine for Stores, we must all starve together, as the Commissaries have deceived us in every article. You will, therefore, bring forward the Provision I directed. I thank you for the Intelligence contained in your Letter &c. I am &c.

Jno. Sullivan.

[To General James Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:149]

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON ANXIOUS TO MARCH

Camp Lake Otsego July 20th 1779

Dear Brother, Yours of the 13th instant with its enclosures have been received yesterday; I am much obliged to you for the Information they contain.

We still remain here in the most anxious Expectation of marching Orders from Genl. Sullivan, I enclose you a copy of his last Letter

dated the 11th inst. which contain all the Intelligence I am possessed of, at pr. ent, worth relating: by it you will see that it is generaly expected the Enemy mean to harrass the Troops under my Command, on their march down the river. I have had Scouts out constantly, but have never been able to make the least Discouveries of them.

You will also see that Genl. Sullivan intends to notifie you of the exact time I am to leave this Place; this Information you will receive before it can reach me; it will require about seven days to proceed to Anaghquaga, so that you will be able to affix the time Lt. Col. Pauling is to march.

I will give you the earliest notice of the day I am to leave this Place, tho' I wou'd not wish you to wait for my Letter, as from unforeseen accidents and delays, the Express may deceive you. I am, dear Brother, yours sincerely

James Clinton

Gov'r Clinton

[*Clinton Paper*, 5:148]

CAPTAIN JOHN McDONELL DESCRIBES SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION

Camp 20 miles from
Fort Wallace
July 24th 1779

Sir,/

I was met here by Sam[ue]l Harriss' Party of Twenty Warriors, they went off from Shimong two days before my arrival & have taken two Prisoners & three Scalps a little below Fort Wallace—That the Enemy mean to attack the Indian Country from Wioming, remains no longer in Doubt. All the Accounts I have been able to gather relative to their strength, from Prisoners taken at different places & periods seems to corroborate; I have reason to apprehend from the information I have just received that they are about this time in motion.—The Prisoners say that Genls. Sullivan & Maxwell were arrived with the last Division of the Troops, a long Train of Artillery, and a Brigade of Provision Boats, this Division said to contain 5,000 men composed of Continental or standing Forces—Genl Hand had 2,000 prior to the arrival of this reinforcement, they have 1,000 pack-horses & 170 Boats, The whole is said to consist of 8,000 men, tho' I cannot allow them above the half nor do I believe they have that. I sent off a Scout from Shishiguin to Wyoming to watch the motions of the Rebels till our Return; should they discover them on their rout[e], a Runner is to strike across the woods to me, the rest to return and spread the alarm:

in which case I shall, after doing them all the injury I can in this Quarter, send off a sufficient guard with what Cattle I'll be able to collect around the mountains, to the Nanticok Town, & hang upon the Rear of the Enemy, & harrass them as much as possible on their march, with a few of the most active of the Rangers & about 100 of the Indians; You may depend upon it, I shall be very cautious to do anything that may have a tendency to dishearten the Indians—I know now too well their capricious humours—

I shall collect all the Cattle of every kind I can, as I am sensible their Provision will be an object of the utmost consequence, when all the Indians are embodied—

I am, Sir, Your most obedt. Serv[an]t
John McDonell

[To Colonel Butler]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:210]

BRANT'S ACCOUNT OF ATTACK ON MINISINK

Oghwage July 29th 1779

Sir,/

I beg leave to acquaint you, that I arrived here last night from Minisink, and was a good deal disappointed that I cou'd not get into that place at the time I wished to do, a little before day; instead of which I did not arrive 'till noon, when all the Cattle was in the Woods so we cou'd get but a few of them. We have burnt all the Settlement called Minisink, one Fort excepted, round which we lay before, about an hour, & had one man Killed & one wounded. We destroyed several small stockaded Forts, and took four Scalps & three Prisoners; but did not in the least injure Women or Children. The reason that we cou'd not take more of them, was owing to the many Forts about the Place, into which they were always ready to run like ground Hogs. I left this Place about 8 oClock next day, and marched 15 miles, there are two roads, one thro' the woods, the other alongside of the River; we were coming up this road next morning, and I sent two men to examine the other road, the only way the Rebels cou'd come to attack us; these men found the Enemy's path not far from our Camp, & discovered they had got before to lay in ambush—The two Rascals were afraid when they saw the Path, and did not return to inform us, so that the Rebels had fair play at us. They fired on the Front of our People when crossing the River, I was then about 400 yards in the Rear, as soon as the Firing began I immediately marched up a Hill in their Rear with 40 men, & came round on their backs, the rest of my men

were all scattered on the other side; however, the Rebels soon retreated and I pursued them, untill they stopt upon a Rocky Hill, round which we were employed & very busy, near four hours before we cou'd drive them out. We have taken 40 odd scalps, and one Prisoner, a Captain. I suppose the Enemy have lost near half of their men & most of their Officers: they all belonged to the Militia & were about 150 in number.

I am informed by the Prisoners, that the King's Troops had taken a Post below the Highlands on the north River, called King's Ferry, in which were 50 men, and had built a Fort on each side of the River: That after this Gen[era]l Clinton sent a part of his army into New England, took several Towns, and destroyed a great deal of stores &c.—that Genl. Washington in the mean time sent part of his Army in the night & surprized one of his Forts, in which 500 men were taken Prisoners—this affair happened some time ago.

The night after we left Minisink, I received another piece of Intelligence that Genl. Clinton at the head of a great army was coming up the north River, and had drove Genl. Washington and his Army before him, and obliged him to retreat up the River in a hurry; this news I received from the Rebels, who also said the Country were extremely alarmed.

I find the Enemy certainly intends an expedition into the Indian Country, & have built strong Forts—by the last accounts they were at Wyoming. perhaps by this time they may be at Shimong, where I have sent my Party to remain 'till I join them; I am now set[t]ing off with 8 men to the Mohawk River, in order to discover the Enemy's motions.

In the last skirmish we had 3 men killed & 10 wounded.

John the Mohawk dangerously wounded, and 3 more almost in as bad a situation—I am afraid they will not recover—

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant.
Joseph Brant

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:212]

GOVERNOR CLINTON TOLD OF ATTACK ON MINISINK

Goshen July 29, 1779

Sir, I was desired to send you inclosed the Examination of Moabary Owen a deserter from one of our state reighmts & to make the following representation viz: That last week upon a Tuesday, about 85

MINISINK (*Courtesy George Beck, Sculptor*)

Indians & Tories under the Command of the noted Brant made a descent upon Minisink, Killed sundry Persons, Burned 11 Houses & as many Barns togather with the Dutch Ch., took off some Prisoners, Cattle, Horses, sheep & considerable Plunder. That on Wednesday, a Party of our People collected, principally from this County, with some from Ulster & others from N. Jersey, pursued, & on Thursday came up with them, gave them Battle & were defeated with a loss, as is supposed, of 50 or 60 men, the number, however, not yet ascertained.

Some of the Indians were seen yesterday, near, I believe at, Minisink.

The Frontiers are in the utmost consternation & great Numbers will no doubt soon leave their Habitations unless properly guarded.

Nathan Ker

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:162]

GENERAL SULLIVAN ON WAY TO TIOGA

Camp Wyoming July 30th 1779

Dear General, I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that I have at length surmounted every obstacle and shall commence my March tomorrow morning. I have taken the necessary precaution (by duplicates) to apprize Genl. Clinton of this circumstance a copy of which I do myself the honor to inclose you.

Your Excellency will be pleased to direct Col. Paulding to begin his march at such time, as you may think proper. I have the honor to subscribe myself with great respect D'r Genl. Y'r Excellency's Obe'd, & very hum. serv't

Jno Sullivan

His Excellency Genl. Washington

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:177]

WASHINGTON SENDS NEWS TO SULLIVAN

Head Quarters West
Point August
1st 1779

Dr. Sir.

Brandt at the head of a party of whites & Indians said to have amounted to eighty or ninety men has lately made an incursion into the Minisinks and cut off a party of fifty or sixty of our Militia. It is reported, that Brandt himself was either killed or wounded in the action. By a fellow, belonging to this party, who has fallen into our hands, as he pretends voluntarily (but is suspected to have mistaken his way) I

am informed that the party came from Chemung in quest of provisions of which the savages are in great want. He says their deficiency in this respect is so great, that they are obliged to keep themselves in a dispersed state; and when they collect will not be able to remain long together. He gives the following account of their strength movements and designs—That the whole force they will be able to assemble will not exceed fifteen hundred fighting men whites and Indians which they themselves conceive will be equal to double the no. of our men in ye wds. That Butler with a party of both sorts was at Conasadago in number, 3 or 400—That at Chemung and the adjucent towns were two or three hundred warriors—That Chemung was appointed as the place of rendesvous where or in the neighbourhood the Indians intended to give you battle, after which if they were unsuccessful they intended to retire towards Niagara, harassing your march as much as possible with small parties and by ambuscades—That some of the towns had sent off their old men and women—others more confident and discredeting that there was an army coming against them had still kept them at home—That no reinforcement had yet come from Canada; but that Brandt who was lately arrived from thence assured the indians there was one coming after him—That the principal strength of the Indians is in the Genesee towns—

You will give as much credit to this account as you think proper and in proportion to its conformity to your other intelligence. The informant is a deserter from Cortlands regiment who says he was carried off by force to the Indians and took the present opportunity of leaving them. He appears not to be destitute of shrewdness and as his apprehensions were pretty strong I am inclined to think as far as his knowledge extended he was sincere—

In my last I forgot to inform you that on the 15th instant at night, Brigadier General Wayne with the light infantry took Stoney point by assault. The whole garrison consisting of above 600 men with Col Johnson commanding officer—fifteen pieces of cannon of different sizes and a quantity of stores, fell into our hands. Our loss in killed and wounded was less than an hundred—of which not above thirty will be finally lost to the service—General Wayne received a flesh wound in the head—This affair does great honor to our troops who entered the works at the point of the bayonet, scarcely firing a gun. The post (you may recollect was extremely formidable by nature) and strongly fortified—The enemy, it is said, supposed it capable of defying our whole force. The opposite point had it not been for some unavoidable accidents would probably have also fallen into our hands—The enemy

from these had time to come to its relief and have since repossessed Stoney point, which we evacuated and destroyed.

I am with great regard D Sir Yr Obed Sevt

[G. Washington]

P. S. Inclosed is duplicate of mine of the 29th with its inclosures, lest there should be a miscarriage—

[To General Sullivan]

(*Washington Papers*, B IX, pt 2, 173)

REBELS BENT ON ATTACKING THE SIX NATIONS

Canadasagoe Aug 3rd 1779

Sir/

I received a letter from Capt[ain] McDonnell the 1st inst which I sent to Capt[ain] Butler desiring him to forward a copy of it immediately to you, as I had at that time no Horse that I could send an express with. It appears now without any doubt that the Rebels are firmly bent upon coming against the Six Nations with a large Body of men, & have made all the necessary preparations. Capt[n] McDonnel's letter will inform you of the reports concerning the Enemys strength &c. at Wyoming: and I am told by a Prisoner, brought in last Sunday, taken seven days before that at the German Flats, that the Rebels at Lake Otsego have been damming up the Lake, & endeavouring by every method to raise the water sufficiently to the Creek that leads into the Susquehanna to float their Boats. Capt[ain] Butler writes me the 29th inst. that a Runner came to him from Canawagaras informing that a Party of Indians have lately been at or near Fort Pitt, & found/ as they say/ at a Place called Otego by them, by us Pine-Creek, about 25 miles from Fort Pitt; a large Body of the Rebels: they heard Cannon & believe they are fixing a Post & then mean to come on.

The Enemy must I should imagine have laid aside their Designs against Detroit, if they really mean to come into the Indian-Country in this Quarter, and that they will I think is beyond a doubt, should not General Clinton's success be such as to prevent them. In this case if Capt[ain] McDonnell is not able to drive off a great quantity of Cattle, & we cannot be largely supplied with Provisions from Niagara, I do not know what may be the consequences, as it will be impossible without this to maintain any number of People together. The situation this country is in with regard to Provisions, I have already fully stated to you.

I dispatched Mr. Lottridge the 27th ult. agreeably to what I mentioned in my last; he has a few of the Rangers with him and 18

Indians; I gave him directions to touch at Carleton Island and Endeavour to get some Messisaugoes to join him. He has my instructions also if he succeeds in bringing off any of the Oneydas, to return to the Island & there wait for further directions from either you or myself; if he should take any of them, I think it would be proper to have them sent Prisoners to Canada; this will lay them under the same restraint, the Rebels have upon the Onandagoes; or else produce an open rupture between them and the Six Nations, which may end in the destruction of that mischievous nest which has given us so much trouble.

Mr. Clement returned yesterday; the three Indians who were with him spoke to an Onandago, who informed them, that he was lately told at Albany, that a messenger from Genl. Clinton had been taken with a Letter from him to the six-nations, acquainting them that an expedition was forming against them by the Rebels, & advising them to be upon their guard; If this be true it serves further to confirm what I mentioned above.

Mr. Service set off to day with a large Party for the German Flats —

I am with Regard Sir, Your humble servant

John Butler

P. S. A Prisoner just arrived reports, that the Rebels are still at Otsego; their numbers are, some say 4000, others say 1500, all Continental Troops Commanded by Genl. Clinton, they are waiting for Provisions, & have been sometime employed in Damming up the Lake to make the Creek passable for their Boats if possible.

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:220]

BRANT DISAPPOINTED AT MINISINK

Canattsagoe August 4th 1779

Dear Walter,

A couple of Indians came in this evening from Joseph, he has been down to Mynisink and I believe has met with a Disap[p]ointment, he found the Inhabitants mostly secured in Forts after taking some scalps he was attacked on his Return, he has lost three of his men Killed, & ten wounded and his Party have thirty six scalps and Prisoners, only five of the latter! No Cattle the Indians say they took a Loyalist a very respective man, who informed them that Genl Clinton had certainly taken the Forts in the Highlands and was following Washington up toward Albany, and says he mentioned that they delayed their opperations from Wioming on that account, lest their

Assistance should be wanted in the North River,—An officer they have Prisoner says the same thing — Joseph is gone on a Scout towards Unondella.

John Butler

[To Captain Walter N. Butler]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:161]

CAPT. McDONELL REPORTS A SUCCESSFUL RAID

Tioga Point Aug. 5th 1779

Sir,/

I have the pleasure to inform you of the success of the Indians and the Detachment I had the honor to Command against the West Branch.

After a very tedious, fatiguing march over mountains & through woods almost impenetrable; we came in upon the Settlements the 27th in the evening, continued our march all night, & invested a small Place called Fort Freeland, early in the morning, the then Frontier Post occupied upon the River. At Ten o'Clock the Fort surrendered by Capitulation, a copy of the Terms I have sent herewith.

The Garrison consisted of one Serjeant & 12 Privates of the Continental Troops, and 20 of the Militia Commanded by one of the Commissioners of the County: they had two men killed before the place surrender. John Montour received a wound in the small of the back scalping a man under the Pickets of the Fort: but is in a fair way to do well.

About two Hours after we got possession of the Place; we were attacked by a Party of Rebels, that came up to reinforce the Fort, of 70 or 80 men having heard our Fire. We had no intimation of their approach 'till they were close upon us; The Scouts of Indians that were sent out having fell in with some Horses, which they pursued, neglecting the charge they were trusted with — The Indians upon the first appearance of the Rebels retired a little but soon recovered their surprize and came in upon their left Flank with great Fury while the Detachment of the 8th Regt. & Rangers attacked them in front, and put them immediately to the Route, with the loss of three Captains (two of which belonged to the Continental Troops) & between thirty & forty men killed —

Few of them would have escaped had they not been favored by a very close copse where they concealed themselves. We had only one Indian Killed & one wounded upon this occasion.

I did every thing in my power to prevail upon the Indians to pursue their success, but they were to glutted with Plunder, Prisoners, & Scalps, that my utmost efforts could not persuade them from Retreat-

ing to Fort Wallace that night. Next day I returned with about 100 Indians & Rangers: we burned & destroyed five Forts & about 30 miles of a close settled Country.

They had abandoned their Forts the Evening before and fled with great Precipitation leaving behind a great quantity of goods & most of their Cattle. We were within 8 miles of Shimoken; I am confident that there is not a Rebel upon this side of it —

The Prisoners corroborate the accounts I gave you in my letter of the 21st ulto. & have no further news. The Commissioner who is a very intelligent man, asserts for certain, that the Armies from Wioming & Cherry Valley are destined for Niagara; they were to set off for Wioming the 26 ult. A Genl. Clinton commands the Army at Cherry Valley.

Out of 116 Cattle we drove past Wallace's Fort we have only 62 remaining; some we lost, but the greatest part were stole from us by the Indians. The Tuscaroras have a separate Drove containing I believe 40 or 50.

I am, Sir
John McDonell

P. S. Please to send me word as soon as possible, what I am to do with the Prisoners & Cattle.

[To Colonel Butler]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:223]

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON TO MARCH AUGUST 9th

Lake Otsego August 5th 1779

Dear Brother, Last Evening I was favoured with a Letter from Genl. Sullivan dated July 30th informing me that he determined to leave Wyoming the next day, and requesting me to move the 9th instant, which I shall not fail to do.

I informed you in a former Letter that it would require about seven days to move the Army to Anaquaga, so that it will be the 16th before I shall arrive at that place, when I expect to meet Lt. Col. Pauling with his Detatchment: If I shoud arrive there before him, I intend to wait for him untill the 17th instant, and if he does not appear by that time, I shall move on the Troops, without him; however, I have not a doubt of his Punctuality especially as I believe Genl. Sullivan has given you an intimation of his movements.

I congratulate you on the Success of Genl. Wayne at Stony Point, and hope to send you similar accounts from the Western World before the ensuing Winter. I am, Dear Brother, Yours affectionately

James Clinton

To Gov'r Clinton.

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:183]

COLONEL DANIEL BRODHEAD INFORMS GENERAL SULLIVAN OF HIS PLANS

Head Quarters, Pittsburgh, August 6th, 1779

Dear General,

I have obtained leave from his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, to undertake an expedition against the Seneca Towns, on the waters of the Alleghany, & he has directed me to open a correspondence with you, in order that our movements might operate in favor of each other.

I shall be very happy in such a correspondence (if it can be effected without too great a loss of Messengers,) & an opportunity of favoring your designs against the enemy, but fear this will not reach you in time to form an useful co-operation.

I have everything in readiness, and am only waiting for the Garrison of Fort Lawrens to come in. If no unforseen impediment happens I shall set out for Cannawago in three or four days and expect to reach it about the 20th Inst. I do not intend to stop there, but expect to proceed nearer to the route I am informed you are going and will endeavour to write you again.

I have twelve Delaware warriors ready, and have the promise of a number more. The Cherokee chiefs have entered into Articles of confederation here and received from my hand the War Belt and Tomahawk.

Should you have a little leisure you will greatly oblige me with a long letter, I have but little news. The Indians sometimes take a scalp from us, but my light parties which I dress & paint like Indians have retaliated in several instances.

* * * * * *

Daniel Brodhead
Col. Commanding, W. D.

[To General Sullivan]

[*Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 12:154]

COLONEL GANSEVOORT'S LETTER TO HIS WIFE

Camp Otsego, Lake 6th August 1779

My Dear Caty: An express arrived here yesterday evening, and to my great mortification not a single line did I receive from any of my friends, when in the greatest expectation of at least receiving one from her, in whom all my happiness in this world depends.

Last Saturday evening I returned safe from an excurtion I had to the Mohawk River, the particulars of which I wrote you from Fort Harkimer.

Gen. Clinton received letters this evening from Genl. Sullivan, the contents of which he has not as yet been pleased to communicate only this that thare was no marching orders. The Genl. did not at all appear to be satisfied after parusing the Letters, whether it arose from his not receiving marching orders, or from any other cause is hard to determine. . . . As the express is waiting for this must conclude with my best respects to our Parents and Families. And am, Dr. Caty, with the sincerest of Love yours while.

Peter Gansevoort

Mrs. Catherine Gansevoort,
Albany

[*Gansevoort Papers*, (*Galley* 95)]

COLONEL GANSEVOORT REPORTS THE LATEST NEWS TO HIS WIFE

Camp Otsego Lake 6th August 1779

My Dear Caty: Just after the Express left this yesterday with my last letter to you, The Genl. Called together the Field Officers of his Brigade and shew'd them his last Letter from General Sullivan which was Dated the 30th day of last month at Wyoming, and the purport of the letter is nearly as follows: That he with his army would leave that place the day following and that we should leave this on the same day that he arrived at Tioga, which will be about the 9th Instant, the reason of his proceeding so far up the Susquahanna before we leave this, is if there should be any danger that he might send up all his Light Infantry to our assistance—the Governor writes to Genl. Clinton that we shall be joined by about 3 or 4 Hundred of the Militia at Oghquaga under the command of Colo. Pawling, so that I cant conceive that we shall need the assistance of General Sullivan, Even if there should be any Danger of an Attack.

We shall leave this next Munday morning, and when we shall have the pleasure of hearing from each other again God only knows, as we

shall for some time travel through the wild wilderness whare it is not probable an express will find us and as we shall constantly be marching from one place to another.

It however, gives me some consolation that we shall this Campaign have it in our power to oblige the Crual and inhuman Savages to make peace with us on our own terms, and thereby securing peace to our Distressed inhabitants on our Fronteers, as well as many others.

Let me intreat you, My Dear Caty, to make yourself as easy on account of my absence as possible and let us trust that God will be pleased to let the happy period soon arrive when we shall again meet in Love and in Joy. Remember me to our Parents and Families and believe me, My dear Caty, to be yours with the sincerest sentiments of Love while

Peter Gansevoort

To Mrs. Catherine Gansevoort
Albany

[*Gansevoort Papers*, (*Galley* 96)]

FALSE RUMORS

August 10th 1779

Dear Brother:

* * * * * *

I have been informed in a letter from Col. V. Dyke, as well as by other persons, perticularly Indians, that the Enemy are preparing to lay Seige to Fort Schuyler, that large Reinforcements have arrived from Canada, with heavy artillery at Buck Island for that purpose; that a Body of Indians had attacked and defeated Genl. Sullivan: this last information I received the day Genl. Sullivan's last Letter dated the 30th ulto. arrived in Camp, five days after it was writen. These accounts seem to ware the similar complection, and illustrate each other; especially when we know that Genl. Schuyler and others have received frequent and undoubted intelligence that no Reinforcements had or were to be sent from Canada except Johnston's regiment, and McClean's Emigrants.

A moment's Reflection will point out the Intention of these amusing tales, evidently propagated with a View to support the Spirits of their discouraged Friends, retard the opperations of the present Expedition, and prevent the Oneidas from joining us, the latter of which they have been perfectly successful in, as out of the whole nation only two have remained with the Army, and these of the lower Class.

The troops have advanced thus far without the least accident, in perfect health and high spirits—the most difficult parts of the river,

are passed, so that I expect to arrive at Anaquaga the 15th where I hope to meet Col. Paulding, if not I shall wait untill the 17th.

* * * * * *

James Clinton

[To Governor Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:188]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER LEARNS THAT SULLIVAN IS NEAR TIOGA

Canadasagoe August 10th 1779

Sir,

I wrote you a few days ago the Information I received, that the Rebels were establishing a Post at Otago, or Pine-Creek.

Yesterday came in a Runner with a confirmation of this News; he says they have compleated their Fort there and were further advanced into their Country.

This afternoon came in a Runner with Intelligence, that the Enemy from Wioming were on their March and had been seen upon the Plains Six miles below Tioga yesterday at 2 o'Clock P. M. this will not admit of a doubt, and their numbers from the many accounts we have had must be very considerable.

Montour is gone down to reconnoitre them, and I expect tomorrow to know how many there are. It is the desire of the Chiefs and myself, that every Indian about Niagara may immediately sett off to this Place, Messessagoes as well as the rest, and march Night and Day, till they join me and that such as do not come, may not be allowed Provisions, nor any thing else. nor be looked upon as Friends, and this we desire you will tell them. I must also request that you would send as many People as you can spare from about your Garrison.

We mean to make this our Place of Rendezvous, and collect together as many as we can, and give the Enemy Battle at all Events.

Captain McDonald is here; from what he has heard of the Prisoners, the Enemy mean to establish a strong Post at Tioga; this must take them some time. So that we shall probably have sufficient Time to assemble a considerable Body before they advance any further; this however is uncertain, as they may perhaps come on immediately.

As amunition will be much wanted, I must Request of you to send off as many Horses as can be got, with that article: and to give those People that come from Niagara as much Provisons as they can carry with them.

If any Dress't Leather or ready made Mockasons can be got, they will be much wanted.

I am with Regard
Sir,
Your humble servant
John Butler

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:364]

THE REBELS HAVE "20 PIECES OF CANNON"

Canadasagoe August 11th 1779

Captain McDonell is here, and the Party will be in to Day. By the accounts he has from the Prisoners, the Rebels were to leave Wioming the 26th ulto. they mean to build small Forts at every 20 or 30 miles as they come along, and Establish a very strong Post at Tioga. They have two Companies of Artillery men and 20 pieces of Cannon, and by the Commissary's return which one of the Prisoners had seen, there were upwards of seven thousand Rations issued at a time at Wioming.

I think it beyond doubt that they are very strong and seriously bent upon this expedition.

I shall send forward the Prisoners as soon as they arrive.

I think, if it should be necessary for you to march, it would be best to send off all the Sick, along with the Prisoners, to Niagara, as we shall not be able to spare men to keep Post at the River.

[John] Butler

[To Captain Butler]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:366]

REBELS BUILDING A FORT AT TIOGA

August 12th 1779

A Runner is just arrived—The Rebels are certainly at Tioga, and have begun their Fort there. I must therefore desire that you will march immediately upon the Receipt of this with every man you have fit for Duty. and use all Convenient Speed till you reach this Place, bring with you all the Provisions you possibly can. if it cannot all be brought, leave some of the People who are least able to march, to take charge of it.

I must desire of you to write to the Colonel, and Request of him to send four or five Boats to Genessee River for our use, and some Provisions

I expect the Indians will be all assembled here in three Days time, and would be glad if you could have the Rangers here about the same time.

Let the men bring up what Provisions they can upon their Back.

[John] Butler

[To Captain Walter Butler]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:367]

WASHINGTON CRITICISES GENERAL SULLIVAN TO CONGRESS

From Head-Quarters, West Point, 15 August, 1779

In the letter which I had the honor of addressing your Excellency the 6th instant I promised a state of facts to shew that every thing in my power has been done to give success to the Western expedition. I am sorry to find in the appeal which General Sullivan has made to Congress that he has misstated several particulars of importance, and that in providing for his own justification in case of misfortune, he has left the matter upon such a footing as to place me in a delicate situation. In justice to myself I beg leave to make a few remarks on the different parts of his letter.

He says in the first place "that the plan for carrying on the expedition was not agreeable to his mind, nor were the number of Men for it sufficient in his opinion to insure success."

The plan he proposed was to have two bodies, each superior to the whole force of the enemy, to operate both on the Mohawk River, and by way of the Susquehannah—This Plan might have been desirable if the number of our troops, the state of our finances, and of supplies had permitted its execution, but it was impracticable on all these accounts. The force actually detached left the Army so weak that I am persuaded every officer of reflection in it, who knew our true circumstances was uneasy for the consequences; and if a larger force had gone, we should have been absolutely at the discretion of the enemy. * * *

But though, if our resources had permitted, it might have been *convenient* to have had two bodies, each superior to the enemy's whole force to operate in different directions for the sake of dispatch, yet this does not appear to me, on military principles, to have been necessary to insure success: For, as the object was only the destruction of some Indian Settlements, all that could be requisite to its execution was to be able to march through them, and this purpose was assured

if there was at one capital point a force sufficient to beat their collective force.

General Sullivan seemed to prefer the carrying on the principal operation by the Mohawk River. My reasons for preferring the other route are contained in the letter No. 3 to General Schuyler. General Schuyler was originally of the same opinion, as appears by his letters No. 1 and 2, but he changed it upon hearing the reasons in favor of the plan which has been adopted, as he acknowledges in his letter No. 4; where he also suggests an additional motive, the want of Provisions. General Sullivan relinquishes the former plan himself on this principle, nor did the deficiency arise from the want of previous dispositions, but from the difficulties in procuring supplies. It was my own idea at first, as will be seen by several letters herewith, to carry on the principal operation by the Mohawk, and directions were given very early to form Magazines for this purpose which it seems could not be executed.

* * * * * *

General Sullivan says that his letters to me produced no other effect than to change the route of Clinton's detachment. There are only four points on which his letters turn. One is the having two bodies of superior force to the whole strength of the Enemy to operate different ways.—I have assigned reasons to shew that a compliance with this was impracticable, and General Sullivan's own concession on the score of provisions is an admission of its impracticability.

Another is, the force necessary to compose the main body,—This he estimates at three thousand—It will be seen by my letter No. 3, Packet 1st, that my opinion long before corresponded with his idea.

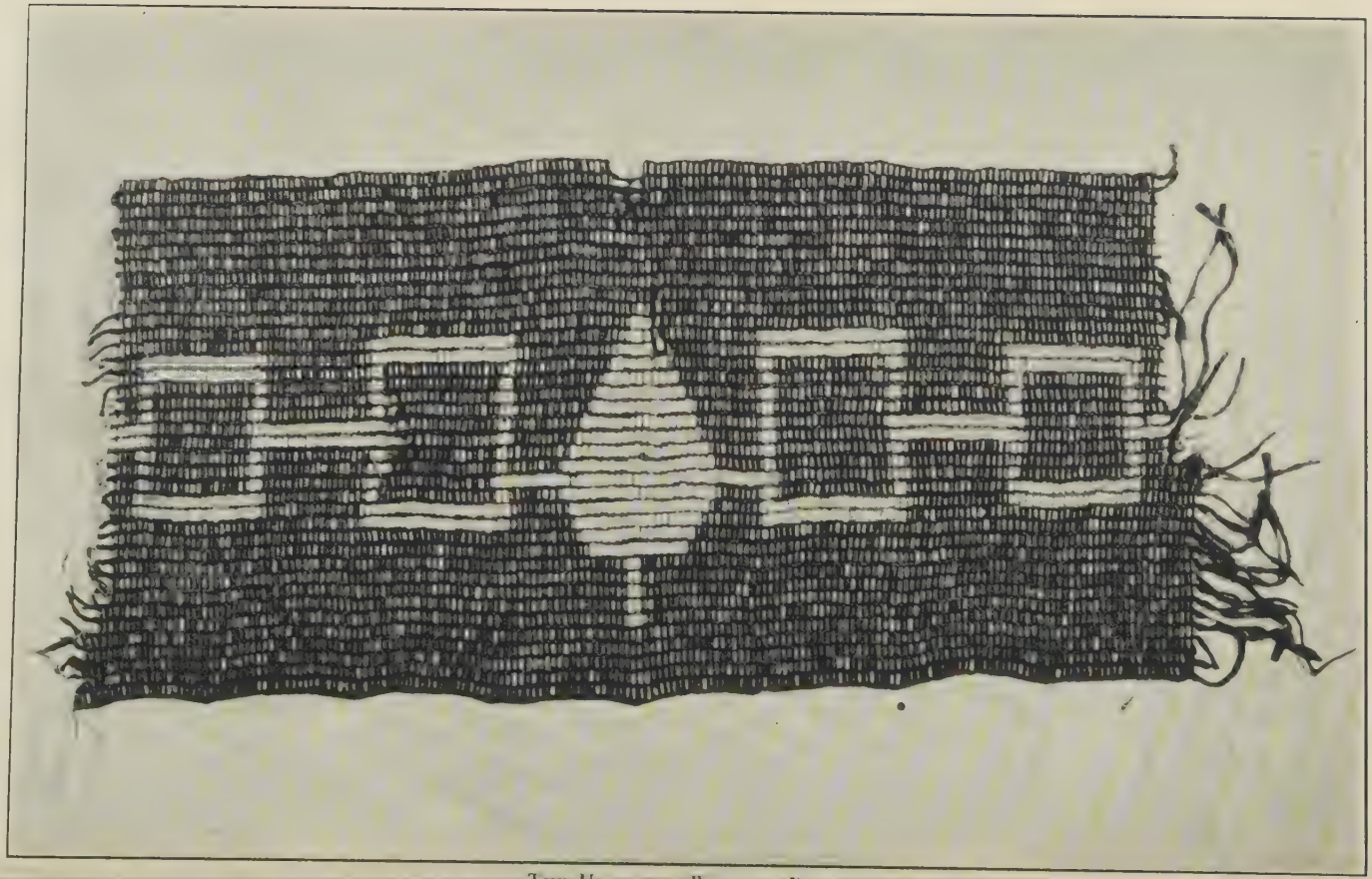
* * * * * *

The next point is—a change in the route of the Troops under General Clinton. This he confesses happened as he desired; yet it would have been much against my judgment had his main body been so large as it was intended to be. I fear too, as matters have turned out, the most critical part of the expedition will be the junction of these two Corps. But it appears to me now from Genl. Sullivan's representation that he could not avoid giving the order to Clinton to march with a full supply of provisions.

The last point is—a change of the Corps originally destined for the Expedition. In this also he was indulged. The precise Corps he requested are with him.

* * * * * *

General Sullivan in the next place says, "having been taught by repeated disappointments to be cautious, I early gave orders to Genl.



Clinton to supply his Troops with three months' Provisions, and wrote Governor Clinton for his assistance in April last—This has been done and they are supplied."

The idea here held up is really extraordinary. My letter to General Schuyler No. 1 will shew that as early as the beginning of December Magazines were ordered to be formed in that Quarter for 10,000 men with a view to an expedition to Niagara—By the subsequent letters to him No. 2 & 3 these were partly discontinued and limited to the Plan of an Indian Expedition, the extent of which was to be governed by his judgment of the force necessary. This being 3000 men, the preparations were of course for that number. Schenectady was afterwards made the depository by Genl. Clinton, as appears by his letter No. 5—in answer to mine No. 4. From the whole tenor of the correspondence on the subject, Congress will clearly perceive, that the Magazines which Genl. Sullivan ascribes to his care and caution were formed in consequence of orders given several months before he was nominated to the command, which did not take place till the 6th of March, by letter; and that they would have been equal to the supply of 3000 men had not the resources of the country fallen short.

General Sullivan states his force at 2312 rank and file, which by a variety of reductions he afterwards reduced to 938 which he holds up as his combatting force.

I should be unwilling to overrate the means of any officer, or to create a greater responsibility than is just—But at the same time I think it a duty I owe to the public and myself to place a matter of this kind in a true point of light. If almost the whole of the 2,300 men are not effectually serviceable in action, it must be Genl. Sullivan's own fault—nearly all the men he speaks of, as Pack Horsemen, Bat Horsemen, &c., &c. may be to the full as useful as any others. The number he mentions is only necessary for the sake of dispatch on a march; in time of action the horses and cattle may be committed to the care of a very few, and the rest may be at liberty to act as occasion requires. Should he even be attacked on a march those animals may be made a shelter, rather than an incumbrance—if the operations he is to be concerned in were the regular ones of the field, his calculation would be better founded; but in the loose irregular war he is to carry on, it will naturally lead to error and misconception. . . . My chief solicitude is for Genl. Clinton, if he effects the meditated junction there will in my opinion be nothing to fear afterwards. Notwithstanding what may be said of the expertness of Indians in the woods, I am strongly persuaded our troops, will

always be an overmatch for them with equal numbers, except in case of surprise or ambuscade, which it is at our own option to avoid.

* * * * * *

He mentions among other things that "one third of his Men are without a shirt to their back." The letters No. 1 to 5 Packet 5th will make it appear that I took every step in my power to afford a competent supply, and I have the greatest reason to believe that the Troops with him had more than a proportion to the general wants and supplies of the Army.

* * * * * *

I beg leave to conclude with one observation. It may possibly hereafter be said that the expedition ought not to have been undertaken unless the means were fully adequate, or that the consequences of a defeat ought not to have been hazarded when they were found to be otherwise—The motives to the undertaking, besides the real importance of rescuing the frontier from the alarms, ravages, and distresses to which it was exposed and which in all probability have redoubled this year,—were the increasing clamors of the country, and the repeated applications of the States immediately concerned, supported by frequent references and indications of the pleasure of Congress. The combined force of these motives appeared to me to leave no alternative.

The means proposed to be employed were fully sufficient; the disappointments we have met with, such as could not have been foreseen as we have no right to expect—so far as the business did not depend on me I had the strongest assurances from those who were concerned, and who were to be supposed the proper judges that my expectations would be fulfilled.

After such extensive preparations has been made—so much expence incurred,—the attention and hopes of the public,—the apprehensions of the enemy excit[ed]—[their] force augmented—their resentments infla[med]—to recede, and leave the frontier a prey [to] their depredations would be in every view impolitic, when there is still a good prospect of success. To avoid possible misfortunes we must in this case submit to many certain evils—of the most serious nature, too obvious to require enumeration.

* * * * * *

I have the honor, &c.

[George Washington]

[To President of Congress]

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:245–48]

GENERAL SULLIVAN REPORTS TO WASHINGTON ON THE CHEMUNG SKIRMISH

Teago—August 15th 1779

Dr Genl.

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived at this place with the army on the 11th inst. without any loss and without having received the least opposition from the enemy—all the accounts recvd. from your Excy. as well as from every other quarter seemed to agree that the enemy were collecting their whole force at Chemung in order to give us battle. I thought if these accounts were true, it would not be prudent to detach a large part of my force to meet Genl. Clinton and expose the residue to the collective force of the enemy. I therefore detached Capn Cummings of Col Shreeves' regt. with eight active men to reconnoitre Chemung. He arrived before the Town on the morning of the 12th. and took post on a mountain wch overlooked the Town, where he remained till 12 o'clock. He returned into camp late in the afternoon of the same day, and reported that he saw both white people and Indians busily employed, but he could not ascertain whether they were preparing for action or for evacuating the place. Immediately upon his return an attack was agreed on and the troops moved at nine o'clock the same evening. Genl Hand with his light corps moved in front to attack on the north of the Town. Gen. Poor was to attack on the east side—Two regiments were detached across the Cayuga to prevent the enemy escaping across the river—I moved on in the main road towards the lower end of the Town for the purpose of supporting the attacking parties, and to prevent escapes in that quarter, having with me Jersey troops, some volunteers, and some of the artillery corps with a cohorn carried by hand on a machine mounted by Col. Proctor. The attack was to begin on all sides at day break. Though the morning was exceedingly foggy, our troops all arrived at their respective posts soon after day break and moved so as nearly to meet at the same time in the Town; but we found the Town had been evacuated the evening before. General Hand with the light troops moved up on the east of the Cayuga branch about a mile beyond the Town, where he found the place of the enemy's encampment, the night of the 13th. We followed them up the road about half a mile, when a party of about thirty rose and fired upon his advanced party; The general with his troops immediately moved up to charge them, upon which they fled with precipitation—They were pursued a little further up, but there appearing no prospect of overtaking them, the troops returned and destroyed the Town together with all their fields of corn and whatever else was

found to destroy. A small party fired upon our people when destroying their corn, but was soon forced to fly. We had in the course of the day seven men killed and thirteen wounded, among which was Capn Carberry of Col. Hubley's Rgt. and Lt. Huston of the same regiment. Capt. Carberry is dangerously wounded, I hope not mortally—Mr. Huston's arm was broken by a ball; all the others are wounded very slightly except Mr. Franklin (one of our guides) who is badly wounded tho' said not to be dangerous. Most of the injury was sustained by Genl. Hands advanced guard and from one fire only, as our troops did not give them opportunity to make a second.—The whole loss was from Gen: Hand except one killed and four wounded of Gen: Poors, and two wounded of the Jersey brigade. I cannot say what loss the enemy sustained, but it must have been inconsiderable, as their flight was too sudden to admit of their receiving much injury. Some of their hats were found, and one had a ball through the crown but no dead body was found, which induces me to believe that none of them were killed out right. I am much surprised that they did not make a greater opposition in defence of their Town; it was most beautifully situated, contained a chappel with between thirty and fourty other houses, many of them very large, and tolerably well finished. There were fields of corn, the most extensive that ever I saw with great quantities of potatoes pumpkins, squashes, and in short every other thing which any farmer could produce—the whole of which was destroyed root and branch. Our troops having completed the business returned the same evening to camp, having performed a march of at least fourty miles in less than twenty four hours, besides going through the fatigue of destroying those extensive fields the whole of which they performed with the greatest chearfulness. The whole of their conduct was exceedingly pleasing, and if any fault was discovered, it was their too great eagerness to rush upon the enemy at first sight. I am happy in assuring your Excellency that I am well convinced, no force that this country can produce, can stand before troops so determined as this army. I forgot to mention to your Excellency in my last letter, that the enemy had erected a new Town near Scheshequiesing containing twenty two houses, which they abandoned on the approach of our army. Col Proctor who had charge of the fleet put on shore & burnt it. I am now sending off a strong body to meet gen: Clinton, when he joins will proceed without loss of time to execute the residue of my orders.

I am &c.

Jno. Sullivan

His Excy Gen: Washington

(*Washington Papers*, CC 152:7, 867)

INDIANS GREATLY ALARMED

16th August 1779

Sir,

I enclose you Copies of Letters received from Major Butler, which will inform your Excellency of the Enemy's arrival at Tioga, and the disagreeable situation the Six Nations are in—That the Rebels are determined to oblige them to observe a Neutrality, I have scarce a doubt of, and they appear to me in general extremely dissatisfied that the Troops Your Excellency promised them have not taken Post at Oswego. Several chiefs came in lately, and in Council desired to know the Reason why the Great King their Father did not assist them in the Time of their Distress, after the many Promises made by the General and the Commanding Officer here . . That they could not resist the Force the Rebels were now bringing against them, and were even at a loss which way to go, as the Enemy were advancing from all Quarters. They desired I would send a part of the Garrison to their Relief otherwise their Villages would be cut off, and they could no longer fight the King's Battles, they even in Council said I had not kept my word, and that I talked of nothing but Provisions, while they were well convinced, there was a great Quantity at Quebec, therefore I could have no excuse for not assisting them—I informed them of all Major Butler had wrote, and notwithstanding I attended their Councils three days, and gave them everything they wanted in Clothing, Provisions &c. I could only prevail on 44 to set off, out of 200 Warriors. Kayashuta desired 100 soldiers might be sent with him to attack 600 Rebels and 100 Delawares who have taken Post in his Neighbourhood, 15 miles this side of Venango. In short, to answer all their Demands, I must have given them every soldier of this Garrison. Their Behaviour all together was very different from what I had ever seen before, and if Major Butler should be defeated, I am convinced they would follow the example of their Brethren at Detroit—

Mason Bolton

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–1:360]

BRANT SENDS INFORMATION ABOUT CLINTON AND SULLIVAN

[Shimong, Aug. 19, 1779]

Sir/

I take this opportunity to acquaint you, that I arrived here five days ago from the Mohawk River, & brought in two Prisoners, who inform me that Five Regiments are quartered near Otsego Lake (not far from Cherry Valley) and have every thing ready for an expedition such as

Boats, Provisions &c. but are very sickly; nor is it certain when they intend to advance, into the Indian Country, from all the Intelligence I cou'd possibly find out. After I took the two Prisoners, the Militia followed me & in time came up, when I received a wound in my foot by a buck shot, but of no consequence, and am now almost as well as ever; however I took care to bring off my Prisoners.

The Rebels at Wioming sent off a Detachment to Tioga, three days before me, & have encamped there; and a Post, of their Army, was at the lower end of Shimong Town, the same day I arrived there. Forty of Ye Indians attacked them in the Narrow passage, and stood for some time untill they were almost surrounded, their loss was only one Indian killed; but the Enemy lost several men, besides many wounded.— this put a stop to their advancing, however they destroyed some Corn, The Indians returned & gave another Fire during the time they were employed, upon which they returned to Tioga after burning some Houses & destroying a few fields of Corn — We suppose, as near as we can judge, they are at least 2000 men at the Camp at Tioga.

Yesterday our Scouts came in and informed me they had sent off part of their Army up the Susquehanna / River, and took some Cattle with them; They are gone to join the army at Otsego Lake, or destroy the Villages near Cayouga whilst the men from those places are here: however, our Scouts are gone after them, and we expect them this evening. The Chiefs preventing the Cayougas to come here, may hurt us, as we have but a small number to watch the Enemy's motions, and its impossible we can be every where—

I am a little afraid we shall have hard work to drive the enemy back, for our Friends are too slow in joining us; however, most of the Chief Warriors are in high spirits & not discouraged, they think we shall beat the Enemy, provided they soon all assemble here in time.

I suppose in two or three days we shall certainly come to an engagement: We are 300 strong, but Col Butler and Tiangerachte are not as yet arrived but expected tomorrow at the head of the Rangers & Senecas.

If we beat the Rebel army, they will never invade our Country again.—

I request you will drive all the Indians from Niagara, & not suffer a man of them to go to Canada—

I hope His Excellency will be pleased to send frequent Parties of Canadian-Indians towards Fort Stanwix and the Mohawk River, which will be of great Service to us.

I am, Sir, &c.

Joseph Brant

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald Coll.*, B 100:229]

BRITISH RUMORS OF BORDER WARFARE

August 25

Every thing is quiet in this country. The Indians have been ravaging the back settlements of Connecticut and New York provinces. We hear they have destroyed above 1000 families, and scalped the whole of them: they have brought fifteen prisoners into this province: they had at first 25, but had *roasted* and *eaten* ten of them in the woods at their war-feast. I heartily wish they had your Commissioners in their *bellies*, could that be the means of bringing about a reconciliation—There are from 800 to 1000 of these savages now out, murdering the people on the back of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

[Extract of a letter from Quebec]

[Almon, *Remembrancer*, 7:51]

COLONEL BUTLER DESCRIBES BATTLE OF CHEMUNG

Chucknut Augt 26th 1779

Sir/

I was favoured with yours of the 15th inst. yesterday and have also received the amunition you sent by the Horses—

We are now encamped within 14 miles of the Enemy, who from the best Intelligence, I have been able to get, are at least 3000 in numbers. Soon after they came to Tioga, a large party of them marched up to Shimong, a village three miles below this, which, they burn't and destroyed the Corn, & were advancing further when they were attacked by Capt[ain] Rowland Montour with about 20 Delawares—who after a few Fired were obliged to retire with the loss of one man Killed; they say they killed several of the Enemy as they were very near & saw them fall. They were determined to have attacked them again had they advanced any further, but after remaining for a little time near to where they had the Skirmish, the Rebels returned to Tioga. They have since divided, & about one half of them are gone to Owego either to Fortify there, as those are doing who are at Tioga, or to facilitate the Junction with the Army from Lake Otsego, or perhaps both.

The Indians have driven off several of their Horses and taken two or three Scalps, but I have not yet been able to get a Prisoner, tho' there are Scouts constantly at their Camp. You certainly must be misinformed in regard of these People, for from the accounts of every Prisoner that has been taken, they are some of the best of the Continental Troops commanded by the most active of the Rebel Generals, and not a Regiment of Militia among the whole.

The Chiefs desire you would send of your men to their assistance, as the Enemy are numerous, and as it is likely that Sir John is at Oswego, they request that you would write to him to come with a quantity of Provisions to the Head of the Cayouga Lake, as they mean, there to make their last effort should they be obliged to retreat.

As to the two Grasshoppers, besides the great difficulty there would be to carry them along with suitable amunition, I believe they would be of no material service in the Woods—none of the Indians from Niagara are yet arrived—

A Scout is just come in with Intelligence that the Rebel camp is much larger than usual so that they must either be reinforced, or the Party must be returned again from Owego.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble Servt.
John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.,* B 100:232]

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON REPORTS THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN

New Town, 5 miles above Chemung August 30th 1779

Dear Brother, I have just time to inform you that the army under Genl. Sullivan arrived on this Ground yesterday Evening, in perfect helth and Spirits.

* * * * * *

Sunday the army was put in motion about nine o'clock with the greatest circumspection and Caution. Our Scouts had brought intelligence the preceeding Evening that the Enemy were discovered at about five miles distance, supposed to be at or near New Town, & from the magnitude of their Fires, appeared to be in Considerable force; that the sound of their axes were heard distinctly which induced us to believe they intended either to throw up works or obstruct the march of the army, untill they coud form a Plan to attack our Flanks or rear.

This in fact appeared to be their intention, and if we had proceeded as they expected, in all probability we shoud have been very severely handled. About ten O'clock a scattering Fire commenced between some of their Scouts and a few of our Rifle men & Volunteers when the former gave way, and the latter proceeded untill they plainly discouvered their Works which were very extensive, tho' not impregnable. As our design was not to drive them, but to surround or bring

them to a fair open action, the Army halted, and a Council being called, it was concluded that the artillery supported by Genl. Hand with the Infantry and Rifle Corps shoud commence the action, previously allowing sufficient time for Poor's and my Brigade to gain their right Flank, while Maxwell's and the covering party under Col. Ogden might gain their left.

About one o'Clock Col. Proctor commenced a very warm Cannonade upon their Works, which continued near two hours, in which time we attempted to compleat our march upon their Flanks, but from the very thick Swamps and rough Country thro' which we were to pass we were in some measure prevented. The Enemy finding their Situation in their Lines rather uncomfortable and finding we did not intend to storm them, abandoned them some time before the Infantry discouvered it, and immediately proceeded to join the remaining half of their Force who were posted on a Hill, attack our right flank as we expected. Genl. Poor who was near a quarter of a mile on the left of my Front, had assended a considerable mountain about half way, which was very steep, when he discouvered them and received their fire accompanied by the war whoop but tho' his Troops were considerably fatigued with ascending the mountain under their heavy Packs, yet they pushed up in the face of their Fire, driving them from tree to tree untill they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their Pack & Blankets behind them, &c. in order to take off their dead and wounded which must be very considerable, as they left nine Indians on the field whom they coud not carry off. My Brigade which had just reached the foot of the Hill when the firing commenced, pushed up with such ardor that many of them almost fainted and fell down with excessive heat and fatigue, for the Ground was so steep that no person cou'd ride up.

During the action which lasted from the first to the last near six hours, we had three privates killed and forty wounded, among whom were three Officers, Major Titcomb, Capt. Clause & Lt. McCauly, who is since dead of his wounds; there are few of the wounded dangerous.

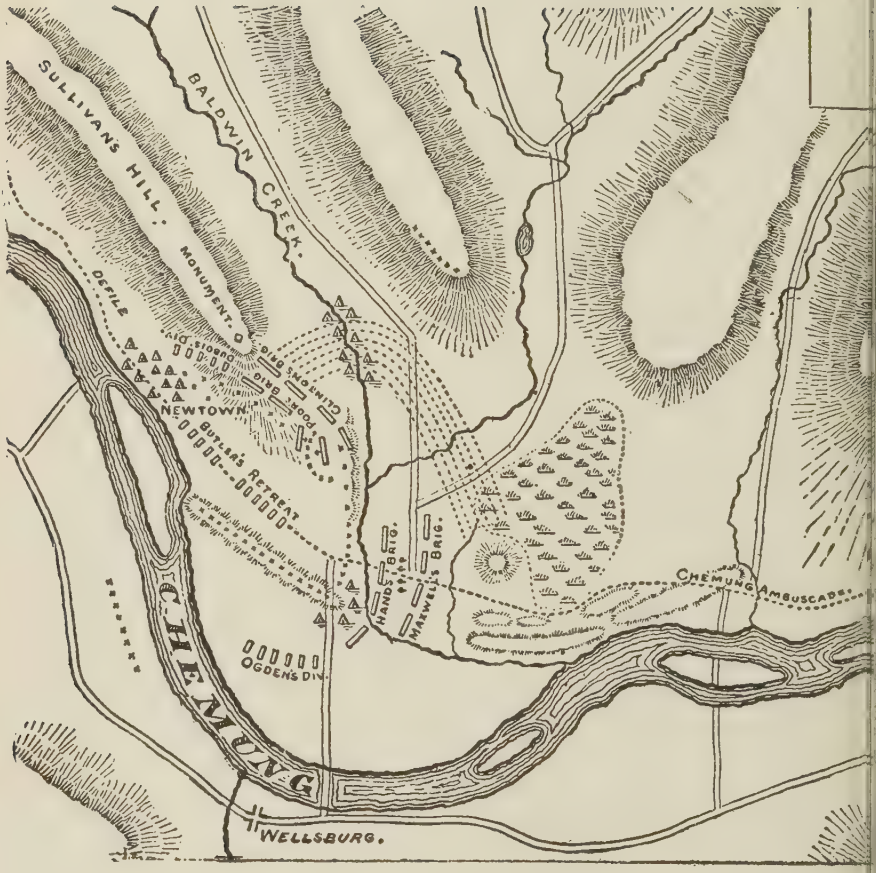
The Enemy's loss must be considerable; nine of them were found dead on the field, and many of them must have been wounded, as they were tracked some three miles by the Blood, while others were seen sent off in canoes.

* * * * * *

James Clinton

[To Governor Clinton]

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:224–27]



EXPLANATIONS

× × × *Places of Encampment.*

Indian Trail.

Marching by the right of Regiments.

Indian Towns.

Modern Roads.

Enemy in position.

NEWTOWN BATTLEFIELD

ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN

Newtown 30th August '79

Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you that the army under General Sullivan gained a very important & complete victory over the warriors of the five nations & their allies, to wit, five companies of rangers commanded separately by Colo. Buttler, his son Capt. Buttler, Capt. McDonald, Brant &c &c. The enemy had erected an extensive work on a very advantageous ground about a mile below this town & waited eight days for our arrival. The work, though in the woods & artfully concealed. was discovered before a shot was fired. After the General had sufficiently reconnoitred their lines & gained some conception of their numbers, made the necessary disposition. Generals Clinton & Poor with their brigades were ordered to fall upon the enemy's left flank & rear. The Cayuga river secured their right. When it was supposed these two brigades had obtained their stations, orders were issued for the attack in front. The attack was announced by the playing of artillery. A few minutes gave us complete possession of their works in front, which they abandoned after a very insignificant opposition. The attack in front was something too early, for Generals Clinton & Poor had not gained their positions before the enemy had began their precipitate retreat. General Poor was warmly engaged on their flank where they made the greatest resistance. The enemy left eleven dead on the field & no prisoners were taken. The dead are Indians, the capt'd are one a white man, the other a negro. Our loss is three killed & thirty nine wounded.

This part of their country is populous, I mean, has numerous small houses & full of fine corn fields. I suppose at this town & its vicinities there are two hundred acres of corn & beans.

I beg your Excellency's care of the enclosed letter for Mrs. Barber.

T. Barber

To Gov. Clinton

[*Clinton Papers*, 5:242]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN

Shechquago [Catherine's Town] August 31st 1779

Sir/

My last informed you that we were encamped within 14 miles of the enemy. On the 27th Inst. one of our Scouts came in and informed us that they were upon their March towards us in great Force, the Detachment that had gone to Owego having joined the Main Body at

Tioga. Finding that with our numbers, which did not exceed 600 men, we could not engage the Enemy with a probability of success, & aware of the bad consequences of a Defeat, I endeavoured to persuade the Indians to retreat to a more advantageous situation. and at the same time have strong Parties out along the Heights to harrass the Enemy upon their March & keep them in perpetual alarms. In this I was strongly seconded by Joseph Brant who saw the propriety of it, and laboured to make the Indians also sensible of it, but to no purpose; for the Delawares had pointed out a Place where they said the Enemy ought to be opposed, & the Senecas & others in consequence of this, were obstinately determined to meet them in a Body, & I of course was obliged to comply. I therefore sent off what Little Baggage we had, under the care of a few sick men, and marched down with the Rangers and Indians to take possession of the ground they had chosen which lay about a mile from our encampment. It was a Ridge of about half a mile in length, to the right of which lay a large Plain extending to the River & terminating in a narrow pass near our Encampment, so that having possession of the Heights we would have greatly the advantage should the Enemy direct their march that way: on our left was a steep mountain, and a large Creek in our Front at a little Distance; we threw up some Logs one upon the other by way of a Breastwork, which we endeavoured to conceal with Bushes that the Enemy might not perceive it on their approach and extended our Line to the left across the Creek at the Foot of the Mountain where a great part of the Indians were posted; Capt. McDon[n]ell with 60 Rangers & Joseph Brant with about 30 white men & Indians lay to the Right, & the rest of the Rangers & Indians with the Detachment of the 8th occupied the center, where I placed myself. As my attention was entirely taken up with the Indians, I left the command of the Rangers to Captain Butler. We remained here from noon till Sunset & then returned to our camp. as we found by our Scouts that the Enemy had encamped below Shimong; the next morning we again moved out to our Lines, where we continued till it was dark, when. we removed to our camp as we found the Rebels had advanced no further than Shimong.

All this while both officers & men were without even a Blanket to cover them, as every thing had been sent off on the first alarm, & had scarcely time to dress a few ears of corn which was almost the whole of our Food since our coming to Chucknut. The 29th at Day-Break we again took possession of our Lines, which some officious Fellow among the Indians took upon him to alter without being opposed by the Chiefs, and turned our Left along the mountain quite

the contrary way from its original situation, which was in a great measure the cause of our being obliged to give way to the Enemy, as it afforded them room for flanking us on that side without opposition. After remaining here exposed to the heat of the Sun without refreshment of any kind, [un]till 2 o'Clock PM. a few of the Enemy made their appearance at the skirt of the Wood in our Front & amused us with some scattering shot from their Rifles, while under the cover of the Wood they were planting their Artillery and fetching a compass round the mountain to our left in order to surround us and gain the Passes by which we must retreat. I suspected their Design & endeavoured to prevail upon the Indians to retire and gain the mountain; Joseph Brant also and the Cayouga Chief came up from our Right to point out the necessity of this step, as it was evident the Enemy had discovered us & knew our situation; but the Indians were obstinately bent upon staying in the Lines. After a little while they began to play their Artillery consisting of six pieces of Cannon & Cohorns against our breast-work, discharging shells, round & grape shot, Iron Spikes &c. incessantly which soon obliged us to leave it. I retreated with the Rangers & a number of the Indians to the Hill, which I found the Enemy had gained before us, as I foresaw they intended. The shells bursting beyond us, made the Indians imagine the Enemy had got their Artillery all round us, & so startled & confounded them that great part of them run off. We then proceeded along the Hill skirmishing with the Rebels for above a mile, till they had nearly surrounded us, & we were obliged then to make the best of our way, some along the Hill & others across the River to prevent being cut to pieces, which the greatest part of us must inevitably have been, had the Rebels acted with any spirit. Many of the Indians made no halt, but preceeded immediately to their respective Villages; the different parties of the rest and the Rangers rendezvous'd in the Evening at a Village called the Nanticoke Town, about five miles from the place of action, from whence we proceeded with our Baggage a few miles & encamped for the night.

Our loss in men, considering everything, is much less than could be expected; of the Rangers we had five men killed or taken and three wounded, & of the Indians five killed & nine wounded.

The Enemy's loss must have been considerable, as they received several vollies from a Party of our men at a small distance at a time when they were in much disorder, & nothing but their superior numbers prevented them from being put to the Route in that Quarter.

Both officers & men behaved with much Spirit, but the efforts of such a handful were of little avail against the Force they had to

oppose. Joseph Brant's conduct through the whole of this affair does him much honor; he with Kiangarachta and several other Chiefs & Indians remained with us to the last.

The Delawares who promised to collect above 200 men, had not 30 in the action, & the Rangers, from the poorness of their living, are so enfeebled, that three of the officers & several of the men had the ague upon them at the very time we were attacked.

The Enemy had been reinforced from Lake Otsego and also from the Delaware, and have some Indians with them one of whom was Killed.

They moved with the greatest caution & regularity, & are more formidable than you seem to apprehend. We have not been able to get a Prisoner, tho' our Scouts have been constantly about their Camp; the morning before we had the Engagement one of our Indians in attempting to bring off a man whom he had met near their Camp, was wounded & obliged to leave him.

The Consequences of this affair will, I fear, be of the most serious nature unless there is speedily a large Reinforcement sent into the Country: at any rate those Families whose Villages & Corn have been destroyed will be flocking into Niagara to be supported, and you know the quantity of Provisions that this will consume.

I am now here with a number of Senecas & Cayougas & sending off the sick and wounded to Canadasagoe: the Families are all moving off from this place, and the Indians have not yet determined what steps to take.

I am, with Regard Sir,

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

Camp. Long House, 12 miles from Shechquago Sept. 2nd 1779

The Rebels are advancing very rapidly and are now at Shechquago: & above one half of my men are sick & unfit for service—

J. B.

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:234]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN

"Yesterday a general action ensued, in which the Indians and Tories got compleately routed. The conflict was long, and I believe on their part was bloody, though only 11 dead bodies were found upon the field, and they, I suppose, would not have been left, if our troops had not pushed them at the point of the bayonet. Our loss was but trifling,

I think five or six were killed, and between 40 and 50 wounded. The cannonade on our part was elegant, and gave the Indians such a panic, that they fled with great precipitation from the field. One Tory and one negro were taken prisoners, who gave information that their whole force were collected here. This settlement is routed, root and branch, all the houses burnt, and the corn fields destroyed. It is very remarkable General Sullivan has been twice successful on the 29th of August.

"I have just time to inform you, that on Sunday morning last our advanced parties discovered the enemy's breastworks between Chemung and Newtown; they immediately gave intelligence; their right flank was secured by the river, and their left by a high hill. General Poor's brigade was immediately ordered to wheel off and endeavour to gain their left flank, and if possible to surround them, whilst our artillery and main body attacked them in front—they stood a hot cannonade for more than two hours; but upon their discovering our intentions of surrounding them, the retreat halloo was given, and they retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving their packs, a number of scalping knives, tomahawks, &c. behind them. We pursued them upwards of two miles, took two prisoners, one white man and one negro; they crossed the river, and carried off a number of killed and wounded, as we found by the tracks of blood, and two canoes which we found covered with blood. I saw eight of their warriors scalps taken on the spot, and I heard of fourteen more dead Indians that were found hid with leaves. Their breastwork was artfully and strong constructed, with logs and blinds made with boughs, and extended upwards of half a mile. The party was headed by the two Butlers and Brandt, and consisted of about 600 Indians, and 200 Tories, by the best intelligence we can get. Our loss is 4 killed and 32 wounded, mostly slight."

Extracts of several letters dated at Major-general Sullivan's Head Quarters, on Tioga, August 31, 1779 to a gentleman in Boston

[Almon, *Rembrancer*, 9:23–24]

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION REPORTED TO BRITISH

Cataragaras Sept 1st 1779

Sir/

A Runner is just arrived at this Place from the Ohio, who informs me, that 30 of our Indians were attacked by a large Body of the Rebels, about four miles below Canawago; from what I can learn, we have had 3 Senecas Killed but the number of Delawar[e]s are not yet known; it is expected that the Rebels have destroyed, ere this time, the Delaware Town and Ganackadago.

I am now going with about 40 Warriors to meet the Enemy: but the Chiefs beg that you would send them some assistance, and that soon, as their distress[e]d condition requires it.

John Docksteder

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:251]

COLONEL BUTLER EXPECTS TO STOP THE REBELS—"IF POSSIBLE"

Canadasagoe Sept. 3rd 1779

Sir/

I must request of you to send four large Boats to Genessee River, as soon as possible, to carry off the sick who are many, as you will see by the inclosed Return, & also several Families who are now at the River—

The Rebels have been seen on this side Sheehquato; if they advance, as it is very likely they will, I shall endeavour to harrass them on their march with the Indians & the Remainder of the Rangers, & stop them if possible before they reach this place. The Indians are much alarmed at their numbers, & I believe it will be but a small Body of them that I shall be able to Keep together.

A Delaware Indian is just come in & tells me that a Deserter from the Rebels is with Rowland Montour who is coming round the Lake with his Family: this man says they are six Thousand strong, that three thousand of them are coming this way, and three thousand more gone with Boats up the Tioga River.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:252]

GUY JOHNSON REPORTS ON THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN

Montreal. 5 Sept 1779

My Lord.

* * * * * *

When I arrived in this Province, I found a Deputation of the Six Nations had newly come down, who were particularly sollicitous about Troops, and the reestablishment of the important post at Ontario, which the General had under contemplation, but from the difficulty that attended the transport of provisions, he did not think it practicable this season.—The Indians were the more urgent on this point as there

were certain accounts that the Rebels were marching in a considerable body into their Country, of which we have since had more particular information, and that my Deputy Major Butler was advancing to the relief of the Senecas.—I herewith enclose a copy of the proceedings with the General, and shall take another with me to the Indians, but since my arrival in this City, the General has from further accounts judged it proper to order up a body of Troops with Sir John Johnson to support and encourage the Indians, which I consider as very necessary measure, and I heartily wish it could have been undertaken sooner, for I may venture to affirm that the Six Nations are now, from situation and circumstances of such superior consequence to Governt, that should they receive a blow of a capital nature, the Rebels might do what they pleased on the frontiers, and we should very soon lose the possession of the lakes and communications as well as the friendship of the other Indian Nations, the effects of which, I need not to point out.

If the Rebels are not able to effect any thing material very soon, I hope to furnish a seasonable reinforcement to oppose them, and I am confident, that if I was armed with a proper authority to encourage the many white people, who constantly retire from the Rebels to the frontiers, and are good Woodsmen, I could soon have a very respectable body of Men fitting to be incorporated with the Indians. Sir John Johnson could likewise do the same, and thus bodies might be formed on the spot, capable of much larger undertakings than can be expected from the present force in that Country.—

* * * * * *

I am by no means doubtful of success, (if the present inroad of the Rebels fails) so long as I am supported in that authority and field Rank, essential to my station, and which always accompanied it, and should they even succeed in some measure I am not without resources; I have been so well supported by my Officers in different quarters, that the service has never suffered thro' my disappointments—disappointments, which I have never fully explained, tho' it is amply in my power to do so, I now hope, that they are at an end, and that I may thro' your Lord's countenance be enabled to transmit such favourable accounts of Indian Affairs, as will evince my zeal and endeavours for His Majty's service.

I humbly request, that this Dispatch may be laid before the King and I am with profound respect

My Lord,

Your Lord's most obedient and most humble servant.

G. Johnson

[To Lord George Germain]

[*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, 8:775]

GENERAL SULLIVAN TO THE WARRIORS OF THE ONEIDA NATION

Brothers,

The enemies of the United States and of your nation, have often threatened to destroy you, and you have called upon us for assistance. You have said that our arm was long, and strong, and therefore called upon us for that protection which we ever wish to afford to our brethren, friends and allies; and you have promised to join us in our operations. The grand American Congress have thought proper to send a powerful army into this country, for the purpose of totally destroying the enemies to your peace, and have thought proper to entrust me with the command of the army, and the execution of their orders. It is with no small degree of surprise that I find only four of your warriors have joined me, though I have far advanced into the enemy's country, and those totally unacquainted with every part of the country through which I have yet passed. I would not wish to suspect your declarations of friendship to the American States, nor am I under the lest necessity to ask your aid as warriors; but as your immediate joining my force is the best evidence you can give of the sincerity of your professions, I shall expect shortly to be joined by those of your people who are friendly to the American cause, and particularly by such who have a perfect knowledge of the country through which I am to pass. Unless this is complied with, I shall be compelled to think that the chief of your warriors (if not really unfriendly to us) are very inattentive to their own interest and safety, as well as indifferent with respect to the interests of the United States. Should you by joining with me, giving me the necessary information, and affording me every assistance in your power, give evidence of that attachment to the American cause, which I ever have, and now do believe you to possess, the army which I have the honour to command will be able totally to extirpate our common enemy, and leave you in a perfect state of tranquility, enable you to enjoy your possessions, and carry on with the Americans a commerce which will tend to the mutual advantage of both. The bearer of this letter, Oneigat, will inform you particularly of my progress thus far. I am, brethren, with the most sincere attachment for your peace and welfare,

Your most obedient servant,

John Sullivan, M. G.

[To the Oneidas]

[*Papers Cont. Cong.*, 152, pt 8, 105]

COLONEL BOLTON BEGS FOR HELP FOR MAJOR BUTLER

6th Sept. 1779

Sir/

I have this moment received a letter from Major Butler, in which he informs me that after repeated engagements with the Rebels, he has been obliged to retreat to Canadasego. The Enemy, by all accounts, amount to some thousands, and have six pieces of cannon, besides Coehorns. I must therefore request that you will immediately order the Light Company of the 34th Regimt to join this Garrison as soon as possible. and if you can spare fifty men more from Your Post, I shall take it as a particular Favor.

In my last letter to His Excellency, I informed him that these Posts were certainly in Danger, and must be reinforced without delay. I have therefore no doubt that you will soon have a Considerable Force at Carleton Island.

I am, &c

Mason Bolton

[To Major Nairn]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:380]

A PRIVATE'S DESCRIPTION OF NEWTOWN BATTLE

Teoga Sept. 6th 1779

Dr. Stagg

In my former letter I gave you an account of the difficulties we encountered in making a road through the great Swamp, in my last I gave you a History of our march from Wyoming to this place, also of the Shimong affair—I was amazingly surprized to see a letter yesterday wrote by you to Taulman, I being acquainted with the writing and seeing a large Packet, I was assur'd there was a Letter enclosed for me, in confidence of which I broke it open, but to my great mortification found, I was not only disappointed of a Letter but in the close of your Letter you hoped I had not forgot you & beg'd he would continue his correspondence—If I thought you received no letters from me since I saw you at Head Quarters, I would pardon it, but as I have wrote you three since that time, two of which I think were sent by the same Person, who carried Taulmans—

You must Pardon if I think you have rather suffered our Friendship to cool—I shall however, for fear my letters might have miscarried, once more send you a scroll from this Saturday night—I shall now give you an account of this part of the World: On the 26th of

August the army marched from this Post (I having the misfortune to be left in Garrison at this Place) on acct of amunition waggons they moved on exceeding slow. On the Evening of the 28th/ the Army then lying at Shimong/ Gen[er]al Sullivan received Intelligence, that a Body of about eight hundred Tories & Indians had collected near Newtown, about eight miles from Shimong to all appearance ready to give him Battle. Our army marched early in the morning of the 29th from Shimong, they had but just got under way, before a skirmishing ensued, between our Riflemen & some scattering Indians, which continued without much loss on our side untill our Troops arrived near Newton, where the Enemy had taken Post & thrown up some works of near a mile in length on a strong commanding ground, having their right Flank secured by the River Teoga, & their left by a very large morass: Their works were artfully covered with green bushes, the better to deceive our Troops; one of our Riflemen or Indians having discovered it, at some small distance, made report thereof to the General, who made the following Disposition of his Troops—Genl. Clinton's and Genl. Poor's Brigades were ordered to file off to the Enemys left, Genl Hands Brigade filed off to the Enemys right, and almost on the Bank of the Teoga, where he would have forced them, had they given him an opportunity; The artillery & Riflemen were drawn up in front to Amuse them with long shot untill Clinton & Poor turned their Rear (Gen[era]l Maxwells Brigade was the Corps de Reserve) unfortunately our Cannon drove them from their works—The Enemy soon saw the necessity of a Retreat & began it before our Troops had gained their rear—Genl Poors Brigade however fell in with, & totally routed them. Col Dearborns Regt sustained the severest shock; Major Fitzcomb & Capt Clays were wounded, the Major thro[ugh] the Body & in the arm and the Capt[n] thro[ugh] the Body just above the navel; they are both in a fair way of recovery—Lieut. McColly of Colo. Colleys Regimt. was wounded in the leg, which was so much fractured that he died next morning. Roe had three men Killed & thirty four wounded, two of whom have since died of their wounds at this place.

The Enemy's loss it is almost impossible to ascertain as they were employed (a number of them) during the Action, in carrying off their killed & wounded—They however left 19 dead on the Field that were immediately found, & I am informed they the following day found several covered with Bushes—They also took two Prisoners—a white and a Negro, who also informed the Gen[era]l they were 800 strong commanded by Butler, Brant, young Butler, & McDonald &c. He further assur[e]d the Gen[era]l they were employed the whole action in taking off their killed & wounded up the Teoga. Our army

will be two or three days in destroying the Corn, beans, Pease, Potatoes &c. of which there is so great a quantity, that it can scarcely be credited. Fields for miles round are full of it, in fine, it was their Grand Magazine.

On account of the scarcity of Provisions & the great plenty of vegetables, the army were put upon Half allowance, which they chearfully submitted to; being anxious to extirpate those Hell-Hounds from off the face of the Earth.

[Signed by an American Soldier]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Pap.*, B 100:253]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER FAILS TO PERSUADE THE INDIANS "TO MAKE A STAND"

Canawagaras Sept. 8th 1779

Sir/

I endeavoured but to no purpose to prevail upon the Indians to make a stand at Canadasagoe; the Rebels took possession of that Village the 7th Inst. in the Evening; Joseph Brant who staid to reconnoitre them, and was near the place where they entered it, says that to all appearance they cannot be less than three thousand men. The Chiefs have now determined to collect all the Force they can and meet them before they reach this, and I send in Capt[ain] Powell to bring off with him such Indians as may be about Niagara in which I must beg you to give him all the assistance you can; & also to send out with them every body you can spare. The 7th Inst. in the evening a Runner came in from the Ohio informing that the Rebels were come up the Allegany, & had penetrated as far as Canawago, the Village at which Mr. Docksteder was stationed last winter, & another Runner who came in this morning, says they have destroyed a Village called Nasadago a Days journey on this side Canawago. but says they returned from there and were building a Fort at a Place which the Indians call Ningaracharie, & I believe is the same as La Boe[u]f.

The Indians seem in better spirits & more determined than I have seen them since they left Chuchnut, and if they get any succour from Niagara I am in hopes I shall be able to persuade them to attack the Rebels on their march, at any rate I shall do my endeavour to get them to make a stand.

Joseph & the Chiefs think that a few Troops from Niagara would be of the greatest service at this Junction, as they would encourage & give them Spirits, & they imagine that this cannot be of any bad consequences to your Post as you can always be reinforced from Carleton Island.

The Indian with Capt[ain] Powell has some strings of Wampum as a message from the Chiefs to the Indians about Niagara.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:262]

STORES FOR THE WILDERNESS

Niagara 9th Sept. 1779

A List of Sundry Articles wanted for the use of Major Butler Corps of Rangers—

2 pieces fine Green Cloth for officers
4 Do – – white do.
3 Do middling Green do. for Serjeants
Buttons & trimmings suitable for the above.
360 Suits of Cloathing for men.
360 Blankets Coats, or Blankets in proportion.
50 Pieces of Binding for ditto.
1500 pairs mens strong shoes
1500 Shirts
1440 Pairs [of] Stockings
60 Dozen Handcfs.
30 Do Hatts
40 Pieces of Russia sheeting for Trowsers.
30 Dozen shoe Buckles
30 Do knee do
30 Do sleeve do.
40 lbs. Thread Different Colours
2 needles assorted.
30 Boxes [of] soap
20 Do Candles
4 Do Chocolate
300 lbs. Coffee
700 lbs. Bohea Tea
200 lbs. Green do
30 Barrels [of] Brown sugar.
3000 lbs Loaf sugar
8 Dozen Buckle Breeches
10 Do shoes ditto
20 Do Blacking Balls
20 Do Ivory combs
30 Dozen Horn Combs
30 Do[zen] Pomatum

50 lbs Hair Powder
60 lbs Pepper
30 Dozen Clasp Knives
60 Camp Kettles
60 Frying Pans
15 dozen scissors
10 Pieces Russia Drilling for Knapsacks
3 cwt Whitning
3 cwt Starch
1 cwt Blue
3000 lbs Cheese
3000 lbs Tobacco
10 dozen Tobacco Boxes
30 lbs Shoemakers Thread
10 dozen shoemakers auls
360 Tin Canteens
90 lbs Mustard
1 Dozen orderly Books
6 Reams Writing Paper
400 Quil[l]s
100 Gallons [of] Vinegar
12 Barrles [of] Molasses
10 Boxes essence [of] Spruce

There will also be Rum wanted, if a greater quantity shou'd not be sent up, than has already been done.

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:264]

INDIANS EXPECT TO ATTACK SULLIVAN BEFORE HE REACHES GENESEE

Canawagaras Sept 10th 1779

Sir/

I received yours of the 6th Inst. yesterday, soon after I had dispatched Capt[ain] Powell to Niagara. Its contents please the Indians much, who I don't doubt will now assemble with the greater Alacrity for the Reinforcement you have sent. Many of the Rangers who were ill of the Ague and sent to Genessee River have since recovered so as to be able to do Duty again.

Kiangarachta is gone this morning to meet the Chiefs at Genessee; all the Delawares are there, and are now determined to act, & from every appearance I have Hopes that the Indians will exert themselves with Spirit and Resolution. Capt[ain] Brant is gone with Kiangrachta,

there is a very good understanding between them, and they concur with each other on every occasion—

As all the orders in my account were drawn on Mr. Robison, I have since thought it best to endorse to Bills to him: I send them inclosed herein—

Capt. Butler with Rowland Montour and some other Indians is about Canadaragoe & Canadasagoe watching the motions of the Enemy, I expect some accounts from them to day. I hope to be able with what Horses I can get from the Indians to have the Grass-hoppers amunition &c. all brought up from the Lake by tomorrow night, should the Boats be arrived. I forgot to mention in my last that the report of a Deserters having come to Mountour was false—It is true that the Senecas can muster 500 men, but you must consider that near one half of this number live on the Ohio, and are employed in defending their own Country, & can therefore give us no assistance in this Quarter; and in Regard of the rest of the Five Nations, you know the Oneydas, and many of the Tuscararas & Onandagoes are in the Rebel Interest.

Capt[ain] Butler is come in this Evening; the Rebels left Canadasagoe yesterday and will be at Canadaragoe to night; if they advance we shall meet them in all probability the Day after To Morrow.

Of the 150 Indians you mention to have fitted out, not more than Fifty have joined me, & great part of these I met at Canadasagoe.

John Butler

11th P. S. The Rebels came last night to Canadaragoe. I have sent Horses &c to the Lake but have as yet no accounts of the arrival of the Boats; I wish the Party may be able to reach this before the Enemy approach.

12th In the morning. The Enemy came last night to a Village called the Snow town on the road to Genesee about a days march from it. No news yet of the Boats or Reinforcement. We are just setting out, as the Indians intend to attack them before they reach Genessee.

[To Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:266]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER REPORTS AMBUSCADE OF GROVELAND

Buffaloe Creek 14th Septemr 1779

We left Canawagoras on the 12th instant in the afternoon, and took Possession of the ground where we meant to Surprise the Enemy early the next morning.

The Rangers by desire of the Indians were intermixt amongst them. We lay for a few hours undiscovered near the Enemy, who were busily

employed in making a Bridge over a Swamp which lay in their Front, and it was our Intention to have let part of them pass the Swamp, and then to have attacked them in such a manner as to make it difficult for the others to Support them. While we were waiting with impatience for the Enemy to begin to pass their Bridge, we were allarmed by a firing above us to the Right, which Continuing for some time, the Indians called out that we were surrounded, and we immediately pushed for the Place where the firing was. upon coming up I found that a Scout of the Rebels, 30 in number had fallen in with the Right of our Line, and 22 of them been killed by the Rangers & Indians in that Quarter. A Lieut. who commanded the Party and a Private were taken. The Officer who is a very intelligent Person Says, their Army consists of near 5000 Continental Troops — 1500 of which are Rifle Men, commanded by General Sullivan and Brigadiers Hand, Poor and Clinton. They have but a month's Provisions, and intend, according to his account, to come no further than Genessee -- They have four Pieces of Cannon (the largest a Six Pounder) a Cohorn and a Howitzer — They are building a strong Fort at Tioga and mean to keep a large Garrison there.

This affair having discovered us to the Enemy, and by that means frustrated our Designs of surprising them, the Indians insisted upon retreating to Genessee, to which I agreed as we were but 400, and could not expect to effect any thing against so numerous an enemy — We found by our Scouts that they had followed us closely, and had encamped on the opposite side of the Genessee River about two miles from the Village. At Day Break this morning, as the Enemy were in motion, and all the Indians, except about 60, moved off, I found myself under the necessity of leaving the Place, which the Rebels took Possession of, in less than two hours after.

I am now on my march to Niagara, and all the Indians with their Families are moving in, as their Villages & Corn are Destroyed, and they have nothing left to support themselves upon.

The Indians say, that after they have moved their Families to a Place of Safety, they will then go and take Revenge of the Enemy.

John Butler

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., State Pap.*, Q 16–2:607]

Map
SHOWING THE ROUTE OF
SULLIVAN'S ARMY
AND
GROVELAND AMBUSCADE.
SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1779
WITH PLACES OF ENCAMPMENT AND POSITION OF
INDIAN TOWNS IN THE VICINITY
FROM — ACTUAL SURVEY
BY GENL. JOHN S. CLARK
AUBURN, N.Y
1879.
SCALE: ONE MILE TO ONE INCH.
EXPLANATIONS.
Places of Encampment.
Indian Trail
The Army marching in Columns.
Indian Towns.
Modern Towns.
Modern Roads
Point where fourteen bodies were buried
Enemy in Ambuscade
CHEMUNGANELS
FORD
FALL BROOK
GENESEE FLATS
FORD
GENESEE RIVER
CHENUSSIO
(ABANDONED)
HUNTS CORNERS.
SENECA LAKE
FOOTS CORNERS
Sept., 12th
Sept. 13th.
CATHYSECHARONARE
KARAGHSAWS
CREEK
CANASERAGA
GROVELAND.

WASHINGTON CONGRATULATES GENERAL SULLIVAN ON SUCCESS AT NEWTOWN

Hd Qrs. West Point
15 Sept 1779

Dr Sir

I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th of August, and congratulate you sincerely on the success of the engagement at Newtown. I immediately transmitted your account to Congress.

The advantages we have already gained over the Indians in the destruction of so many of their settlements is very flattering to the expedition. But to make it as conclusive as the state of your provisions and the safety of your army will countenance I would mention two points which I may not have sufficiently expressed in my general instructions or if I have which I wish to repeat.— The one is the necessity of pushing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance from their own settlements and our frontiers, to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy. The other is the making the destruction of their settlements so final and complete as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succour from them in case they should ever attempt to return this season.

I am Dr Sir
Your
G. W.

[To General Sullivan]

[*Washington Papers*, B X, pt 1, 45]

COLONEL BOLTON INFORMS GENERAL HALDIMAND OF EXPECTED ATTACK ON NIAGARA

Niagara Septemr 16th 1779

The inclosed copies of letters from Major Butler which will inform you of 4000 Rebels being encamped at Genessee within 70 miles or 80 of this Post — Maxwell, I am informed Commands 1500 or 2000 men at Venango, and has sent strong Detachments up the Allegany and to Le Beuf. The Haldimand I have ordered to the Landing to bring down 48 Batteaux Loads of Merchants goods, and have sent orders to the officers Commanding at Forts Erie and Schlosser to hold themselves in Readiness to join this Garrison at a moments warning. I expect Dayly the Detachments from Detroit, and hope the next Vessels will bring a Reinforcement from Carleton Island — The Rebels have destroyed most of the Indian Villages and Corn fields, therefore I wish to soon see their Families come in, otherwise I shall give over

all hopes of their assistance any longer. Our works are almost finished, and I have no Doubt will be defended with spirit, notwithstanding our weak Garrison — by the last accounts the Rangers have not more than 150 men fit for duty and we have 40 sick in this Garrison.

Joseph Brant (who upon all occasions deserves everything I can Say in his favour) is just arrived and informs me that a considerable number of Indians with their Families are coming in tomorrow, Secumgerachta is with them, and has behaved extremely well, I could wish some handsome present was made to him, as he has great weight with the Six Nations.

Mason Bolton

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:269]

COLONEL BRODHEAD DESCRIBES HIS EXPEDITION TO WASHINGTON

Pittsburgh, Sep'r 16th 1779

Dear General,

I returned from the expedition against the Seneca & Muncy nations the 14th Inst., & now do myself the honor to inform you how far I have succeeded in prosecuting it.

I left this place the 11th of last month with six hundred & five Rank & File, including Militia & Volunteers, & one Month's provision which except the live Cattle were transported by water under the escort of one hundred Men to a place called Mahoning, about 15 Miles above Fort Armstrong, where after four days detention by excessive Rains & the straying of some of the Cattle, the Stores were loaded on Pack Horses, and the troops proceeded on the march for Canawago on the path leading to Cuscushing; at ten miles on this side the town, one of the advanced guards consisting of fifteen White men, including the spies & eight Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieut. Hardin of the 8th Penn'a Reg't, whom I have before recommended to your Excellency for his great bravery & skill as a partisan, discovered between thirty & Forty warriors coming down the Allegheny River in seven Canoes. These warriors having likewise discovered some of the Troops, immediately landed stript off their shirts & prepared for action, and the advanced Guard immediately began the attack—All the troops except one column & Flankers being in the narrows between the River and high hill were immediately prepared to receive the enemy, which being done, I went forward to discover the Enemy, & six of them retreating over the River without arms, at

the same time the rest ran away leaving their Canoes, Blankets, Shirts, provision and eight Guns, besides five dead and by the signs of Blood, several went off wounded, only two of my men & one of the Delaware Indians (Narrowland) were wounded & so slightly that they are already recovered & fit for action.—The next morning the Troops proceeded to Buchloons, where I ordered a small Breastwork to be thrown up of felled Timber & fascines, a Capt. & forty men were left to secure our Baggage & Stores, & the Troops immediately proceeded to Canawago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past. Here the Troops seemed much mortified because we had no person to serve as a Guide to the upper Towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been travelled on by the Enemy some time past, & we continued marching on it about 20 Miles before any discoveries were made except of a few tracks of their spies. But immediately after ascending a high hill we discovered the Allegheny River & a number of Corn Fields, & descending several towns which the Enemy had deserted on the approach of the Troops. Some of them fled just before the advanced Guards reached the Towns & left several packs of Deer skins. At the upper Seneca Towns we found a painted image or War post, clothed in Dog skin, & John Montour told me this Town was called Yoghroonwago, besides this we found seven other Towns, consisting in the whole of one hundred and thirty Houses, some of which were large enough for the accommodation of three or four Indian families. The Troops remained on the ground three whole days destroying the Towns & Corn Fields. I never saw finer Corn altho' it was planted much thicker than is common with our Farmers. The quantity of Corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several Towns, from the best accounts I can collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed five hundred acres which is the lowest estimate, and the plunder is estimated at 30 m. Dollars. I have directed a sale to be made of it for the benefit of the Troops. On my return I preferred the Venango Road, the old towns of Conawago, Buckloons & Mahusquechikoken, about 20 Miles above Venango, on French Creek, consisting of 35 large houses were likewise burnt.—The greatest part of the Indian houses were larger than common, and built of square & round logs & frame work. From the great quantity of Corn in new Ground & the number of new houses Built & Building it appears that the whole Seneca & Muncy nations intended to collect to this settlement which extends about eight Miles on the Allegheny River, between one hundred & seventy & two hundred Miles from hence, the River at the upper Towns is little if any larger than Kiskamanitis Creek. It is remarkable that neither man or Beast has fallen into the

Enemies hands on this expedition, & I have a happy pressage that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford & Northumberland, if not the whole Western Frontiers will experience the good effect of it.

Too much praise cannot be given to both officers and soldiers of every Corps during the whole expedition, their perseverance and zeal during the whole march thro' a Country too inaccessible to be described can scarcely be equaled in history. Notwithstanding many of them returned barefooted and naked they disdained to complain, and to my great mortification I have neither Shoes, Shirts, Blankets, Hats, Stockings nor leggins to relieve their necessities.

On my return here I found the Chiefs of the Delaware, the principal Chief of the Hurons, and now the King of the Maquichee tribe of the Shawanese, is likewise come to treat with me; about 30 Delaware warriors are here likewise ready to go to war, but I have nothing to encourage them with, and without the means of paying them I cannot send them out. The Troops here have at least nine Months pay due to them and there is neither money nor Pay Master to discharge the arrearages.

A majority of my Regt. are now discharged and the term of the two Ranging Companies of Westmoreland expired, so that I shall be weak in Troops to prosecute an expedition which by your permission I should be happy to make against Detroit, taking the Shawanese in my way. I should be happy to have your permission to make occasional excursions against any of the Indian nations who may hereafter prove inimical to us, as sometimes a favorable opportunity may be lost before I can be favored with your particular orders. Likewise to know your pleasure in regard to the Senecas and Muncies should they in their great distress sue for peace. I have before taken the liberty to give you my opinion respecting them, and the pairings of scalps and the hair of our Countrymen at every Warrior's camp on the path we marched are new inducements for Revenge.

I am informed that Col. Clark who took Post St Vincent, is making peace and war with the natives. I am not instructed how far your Excellency has authorized him to do so and apprehend the worst consequences to this frontier should either Col. Clark or myself enter into a treaty of peace with one of the Indian nations and the other Break it, and by my instructions I am confined to the immediate command of the Troops here, I can take no step to prevent such a probable [event?] but humbly entreat you to do it.

The Wyandotts and the Maquichees tribe of the Shawanese promise very fair, and I have promised them peace provided they take as many prisoners, and scalps, from the Enemy as they have done from us

and on every occasion join us against the enemies of America, which they have engaged to do.

The two soldiers I sent Express to Genl. Sullivan are not yet returned, and I apprehend they have fallen into the Enemy's hands.

A few Indian Goods, Paint and trinkets at this juncture would enable me to engage the Delawares to harrass the enemy frequently.

The Bearer, Capt. McIntire, has some private as well as public Business to transact at Philada. I have therefore ordered him to proceed to Head Quarters and he will have the honor to wait on you with this letter.

I have the honor to be with the most perfect regard and esteem, your Excellency's most

Obed't H'ble Serv't,

D. Brodhead

The Delaware Chiefs have just now called on me to Build some Blockhouses at Cushocken for the protection of their Women and Children whilst they are out against the English and Mingoes, and I have agreed to send a Detachment for that purpose agreeable to the article of Confederation.

The soldiers I sent express to Genl. Sullivan are this moment returned and I enclose a copy of his letter.

D. B.

[To General Washington]

[*Sull. Ind. Exp.*, p. 307–9]

GENERAL SULLIVAN SENDS COL. GANSEVOORT TO THE MOHAWK VALLEY

September 20th, '79

Sir: You are to take command of a chosen party draughted from the Army, & proceed by the shortest rout to the lower Mohawk Castle, destroy it & captivate, if possible all the Indians that may be there. The upper Castle being Inhabited by the Oneidas you are to spare & treat them as Friends. Such necessary marks of civility & attention you will shew them as may engage a continuance of their friendship & give evidence of our pacific disposition towards them.

Whatever Prisoners may fall into your Hands, you are to proceed with to Albany, & collect the Baggage of the several Regiments from which your party were draughted, & proceed with all possible expedition to Head Quarters. You are by no means to leave any of the Prisoners at Albany, unless particularly directed by General Washington or Congress.

As your rout will be through the Oneida Country, you are to take particular care that your men do not offer the Inhabitants the least insult; &, if by accident any damage should be done, you are to make reperation, for which I shall stand accountable.

From your Zeal activity & prudence, I trust every precaution will be taken to execute these Orders to the advantage & honor of the United States.

Jno. Sullivan, M. Gen'l

[To Colonel Gansevoort]

[*Gansevoort Papers* (*Galley* 97)]

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER INFORMS GENERAL HALDIMAND THAT IT IS TOO LATE TO SAVE THE INDIAN COUNTRY

Niagara September 20th 1779

Sir/

I am sorry to inform you that the Reinforcements Your Excellency is sending up are too late to save the Country of the Five Nations from being Destroyed: this has been very rapidly effected by the Rebels whose superior strength & numbers made all our efforts to stop their progress of small avail. Your Excellency has been informed thro' Col. Bolton of everything that has happened, and the Intelligence received of the numbers & Designs of the Enemy. The Rebels taking possession of Genesee obliged me to retreat to this Place for the want of Provisions, which it was impossible to have conveyed to us in sufficient quantity, as all communication with the Lake was by that means cut off. By the Scouts left to watch the motions of the Enemy I am informed that they have burnt the Genesee Village & destroyed the Corn and are making a hasty Retreat: whether they mean to return the same way they came, or by way of Fort Stanwix I am not yet informed, but expect soon to know: Two parties of Rangers & Indians leave this tomorrow, the one is to go along the Lake, taking with them a Gunboat, to reconnoitre as far as Oswego, and we hope soon to be fully assured whether the Rebels have any immediate Designs against this Post or not.

In Your Excellency's Letter of the 26th of July you complain of the great expence of the Indian Department at the Upper Posts: I can only answer for the accounts of that under my immediate Direction that all the Economy possible has been used, but Your Excellency will observe if you consult the Indian accounts from this Post, that they are generally much swelled by Charges which the Indian Department has nothing at all to do with, such as Cattle purchased for the

use of the Garrison, Necessaries for Distrest Families & Prisoners, & many other things in which Indians are not at all concerned.

I must acquaint Your Excellency that I do not think it will be in my Power to lessen this Expence but fear it will be much increased by the distrest situation to which the Indians under my charge are now reduced in being driven from their Country and having everything destroyed; at the same time as strict Economy shall be used as is possible. In regard of Provisions it must be obvious to Your Excellency that they will now want more than ever.

I have communicated to Sir John Johnson, every material Information and shall always cheerfully concur with him or any other Person in every thing that may Promote the Good of His Majesty's service.

Notwithstanding the losses the Indians have suffered by the Destruction of their Corn and Villages I am happy to acquaint Your Excellency that they seem still unshaken in their attachment to His Majesty's cause, & declare as soon as they have placed their women & Children in security they will go and take Revenge of the Enemy.

John Butler

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 105:179]

COLONEL BOLTON WRITES TO MAJOR NAIRNE OF EXPECTED ATTACK

Niagara 22nd Sept. 1779

Yesterday I received a note from Joseph Brent informing me that the Army under General Sullivan after destroying the Genesea, as well as all the other Villages and Corn fields are now on their march back to Tioga, which by all accounts is near three hundred miles from this, of which you will acquaint Sir John Johnson as soon as he arrives—to follow them is too late to be of any great consequence, and would be attended with many difficulties, for with the few Horses here I cannot conceive it possible for him to carry the quantity of Provisions necessary to support the Troops under his command with the Canadien Indiens and those of the Six Nations that would certainly join him, besides its now rather late in the Season—however his Excellencie may think it necessary something should be done in order to return the visit they paid the Six Nations, at any rate to reinforce the upper Posts I am convinced will be absolutely necessary, for I have not the least doubt but in the Spring they will make an attempt to take some of them before His Excellencie can possibly send us any assistance, & Niagara I think the most likely to be attacked, as they have now cut a road to the Genesea.

I should be happy to see Sir John Johnson here, & by that time may have it in my power to give him a more certain account of the Enemy's motions—

The Indiens bear this misfortune with more patience than I could possibly expect, & seemed determined to take revenge when an opportunity offers, but the loss of their Corn &c. and the scarcity of Provisions here to supply the number I shall have at this Post, makes it impracticable at present.

Mason Bolton

[To Major Nairne]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:274]

SIR JOHN JOHNSON READY TO AID THE INDIANS

Fort Haldimand 29th Sept. 1779

Sir/

I arrived at this place the 26th Instant with the Troops under my command, since which the Indians have also arrived, except the Coghnawagas, who are near at hand.—Finding from all the Intelligence I have been able to collect here, that the Enemy have retired to Tioga, with an intention of establishing a Post there, I consulted with the Chiefs of all the Nations here, which would be the nearest and best place for our rendezvous, in order to march from thence to endeavour to dislodge the Enemy from any works they may have begun to erect, and it is determined to go to Ascerotus and I am now only waiting for a fair wind—A Detachment of the 34th Regmt. and my own consisting of one hundred & forty men, together with all the Indians, are to go in Batteaux and Canoes round by Oswego, in order, after all is over, to convey us to such place as the Service may require without detaining the Vessels from the Transport of Provision—I may however have occasion for the Mohawk, if the Service will admit of it—In hopes that the Six nations will approve of our Plan, and join us immediately together with the Rangers under the command of Major Butler agreeably to the General's orders to me, I have ordered six weeks Provisions for fifteen hundred men to be landed at the place of Rendezvous to save the transport of that article from Niagara.

I take with me from hence two Brass Six-Pounders, and the General writes me that you will provide me with any further assistance I may stand in need of, therefore if you have no Intelligence of the Enemys having abandoned their Posts in the Indian Country, I would be glad you would send me two Cohorns, or rather one Cohorn and one Howitz, with everything necessary for them, and an officer and a

proper number of men to work the artillery, which the General acquaints me he has ordered; and as I could not be provided with a proper proportion of amunition &c for the six-Pounders here, I enclose a Return of the Deficiency which, I beg you will send to me by return of the Vessels that will bring the Rangers and Indians to join us. The greatest difficulty I imagine will be in our own march to Canadasega, which, with the assistance of as many Horses as you can send us, may be soon got over—should the Enemy have abandoned the Indian Country, you will please to let me know it immediately, & what number of men you will be able to provide with Provision & Lodging during the course of the Winter, as I am ordered to send the remainder back to Canada.

I have the honor to be with great respect Sir

Your most obedient & most Humble Servant

John Johnson

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:281]

GENERAL SULLIVAN'S REPORT OF THE CAMPAIGN TO JOHN JAY, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Teaogo, September 30, 1779

Sir,

In mine of the 30th ultimo to his Excellency General Washington, and by him transmitted to Congress, I gave an account of the victory obtained by this army over the enemy at Newtown, on the 29th of August. I now do myself the honour to inform Congress of the progress of this army, and the most material occurrences which have since taken place.

The time taken up in destroying the corn, in the neighbourhood of Newtown, employing the army near two days, and there appearing a probability that the destruction of all the crops might take a much greater length of time than was at first apprehended, and being likewise convinced, by an accurate calculation, that it would not be possible to effect the destruction of the Indian country, with the provision on hand, which was all I had in store, and, indeed, all I had pack-horses to transport from Teaogo; in this situation I could think of but one expedient to answer the purposes of the expedition, which was to prevail, if possible, on the soldiers, to content themselves with half a pound of flour, and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, rather than leave the important business unfinished. I therefore drew up an address to them, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose you,

which being read, was answered by three cheers from the whole army. Not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. I had then on hand, from the best calculation I could make, twenty-two pounds of flour, and sixteen pounds of beef per man; the former liable to many deductions by rains, crossing rivers, and defiles; the latter much more so, from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle, when suffered to range the woods at night for their support. I was, however, encouraged in the belief, that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories, by this truly noble and virtuous resolution of the army, for which, I know not, whether the public stand more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes, and rendered persuasion unnecessary. I sent back all my heavy artillery on the night of the 30th, retaining only four brass threepounders, and a small howitzer, loaded the necessary ammunition on horseback, and marched early on the 31st for Catherine's town. On our way we destroyed a small settlement of eight houses, and a town called Konowhola, of about twenty houses, situated on a peninsula, at the conflux of the Teaogo, and Cayuga branches. We also destroyed several fields of corn. From this Col. Drayton was detached with his regiment and the rifle corps up the Teaogo about six miles, who destroyed several large fields of corn. The army resumed their march, and encamped within thirteen miles and a half of Catherine's town, where we arrived the next day, although we had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp, nine miles in extent, and almost impervious. We arrived near Catherine's town in the night, and moved on in hopes to surprize it, but found it forsaken. On the next morning an old woman of the Cayuga nation was found in the woods, who informed, that on the night after the battle of Newtown, the enemy, having fled the whole night, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women, they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed, and vast numbers wounded. She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connections. In addition to this, she assured us, that some other warriors had met Butler at this place, and desired him to return and fight again. But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer, for as they observed, "Butler's mouth was closed." The warriors, who had been in the action, were equally averse to the proposal, and would think of nothing but flight and the removal of their families; that they kept runners on every mountain to observe the motion of our army, who reported early in the day on

which we arrived, that our advance was very rapid; upon which all those who had not been before sent off, fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape. She said, that Brant had taken most of the wounded up the Teaogo in canoes. I was from many circumstances, fully convinced of the truth and sincerity of her declaration, and the more so, as we had, on the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms, and accoutrements, thrown away in the road, and in the woods on each side of it. Besides which, we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who had died by wounds. Those circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead in the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, were sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended.

I have never been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown; but from the best accounts I have been able to collect and from the opinion of General Poor and others, who had the best opportunity of viewing their numbers, as well as from the extent of their lines, I suppose them to have been fifteen hundred, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the numbers at any post but their own, as well as of the enemy's disposition, estimate them only at eight hundred, while they allow that five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations, were collected at this place. In order to determine their force, with as much accuracy as in my power, I examined their breastwork, and found its extent more than half a mile. Several bastions ran out in its front, to flank the lines in every part. A small blockhouse, formerly a dwelling, was also manned in front. The breast-work appeared to have been fully manned, though I suppose with only one rank. Some part of their works being low, they were obliged to dig holes in the ground to cover themselves in part. This circumstance enabled me to judge the distance between their men in the works. A very thin scattering line, designed, as I suppose, for communicating signals, was continued from those works to that part of the mountain which General Poor ascended, where they had a very large body, which was designed, I imagine, to fall on our flank. The distance from the breast-work to this, was at least one mile and a half. From thence, to the hill in rear of our right, was another scattering line of about one mile, and on the hill a breast-work, with a strong party, destined, as it is supposed, to fall in our rear. But General Clinton being ordered so far to the right, occasioned his flank to pass

this mountain, which obliged them to abandon their post. From those circumstances, as well as from the opinion of others, I cannot conceive their numbers less than what I have before mentioned.

The army spent one day at Catherine's in destroying corn and fruit trees. We burnt the town, consisting of about thirty houses, and the next day encamped near a small scattering settlement of about eight houses, and in two days after reached Kendaia, which we also found deserted. Here one of the inhabitants of Wyoming, who had been last year captured by the enemy, escaped from them and joined us. He informed, that the enemy had left the town in the greatest confusion, three days before our arrival. He said he had conversed with some of the Tories, on their return from the action of Newtown, who assured him they had great numbers killed and wounded, and there was no safety but in flight. He heard Butler tell them, they must try to make a stand at Kanadasega; but they declared, they would not throw away their lives in a vain attempt to oppose such an army. He also heard many of the Indian women lamenting the loss of their connexions; and added that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Teaogo in water craft, which had been provided for that purpose in case of necessity. It was his opinion, the King of Kanadasega was killed, as he saw him go down but not return, and gave a description of his person and dress, corresponding with those of one found on the field of action. Kendaia consisted of about twenty houses, which were reduced to ashes; the houses were neatly built and finished. The army spent near a day at this place in destroying corn and fruit trees, of which there was great abundance; many of the trees appeared to be of great age. On the next day we crossed the outlet of the Seneca lake, and moved in three divisions, through the woods, to encircle Kanadasega, but found it likewise abandoned. A white child, of about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, was found here and carried with the army.

A detachment of four hundred men was sent down on the west side of the lake to destroy Gotheseunquean, and the plantations in the same quarters; at the same time a number of volunteers, under Col. Harper, made a forced march towards Cayuga lake, and destroyed Schoyere, while the residue of the army were employed in destroying the corn at Kanadasega, of which there was a large quantity. This town consisted of fifty houses, and was pleasantly situated. In it we found a great number of fruit trees, which were destroyed with the town. The army then moved on, and in two days arrived at Kanandaque, having been joined on the march by the detachment sent along the Seneca lake, which had been almost two days employed in destroying the crops

and settlements in that quarter. At Kanandaque we found twenty-three very elegant houses, mostly framed, and in general large. Here we also found very extensive fields of corn, which having been destroyed, we marched for Hannayaye, a small town of ten houses, which we also destroyed.

At this place we established a post, leaving a strong garrison, our heavy stores and one field piece, and proceeded to Chinesee, which, the prisoners informed, was the grand capital of the Indian country; that Indians of all nations had been planting there this Spring; that all the rangers and some British had been employed in assisting them, in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them while destroying our frontiers; and that they themselves had worked three weeks for the Indians when planting. This information determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbad the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack-horses, and in the passage of creeks and defiles; and twenty-seven of the cattle had been unavoidably lost. We, however, marched on for the Chinesee town, and on the second day reached a town of twenty-five houses, called Kaneghsaws. Here we found some large corn fields, which part of the army destroyed, while the other part were employed in building a bridge over an unfordable creek, between this and Chinesee.

I had the preceding evening ordered out an officer with three or four riflemen, one of our guides, and an Oneida Chief, to reconnoitre the Chinesee town, that we might, if possible, surprize it. Lieutenant Boid, of the rifle corps, was the officer intrusted, who took with him twenty-three men, volunteers from the same corps, and a few from Col. Butler's regiment, making in all twenty-six, a much larger number than I had thought of sending, and by no means so likely to answer the purpose as that which had been directed. The guides were by no means acquainted with the country, mistook the road in the night, and at day break fell in with a castle, six miles higher up than Chinesee, inhabited by a tribe called Squatchegas. Here they saw a few Indians, killed and scalped two; the rest fled. Two runners were immediately dispatched to me with the account, and informed that the party were on their return. When the bridge was almost completed, some of them came in and told us that Lieutenant Boid, and men of his party, were almost surrounded by the enemy; that the enemy had been discovering themselves before him for some miles; that his men had killed two, and were eagerly pursuing the rest; but soon found themselves almost surrounded by three or four hundred Indians and rangers. Those of Mr. Boid's men, who were sent to secure his flanks, fortunately

made their escape; but he, with fourteen of his party, and the Oneida Chief, being in the center, were compleately encircled. The light troops of the army, and the flanking divisions, were immediately detached to their relief; but arrived too late, the enemy having destroyed the party and escaped.

It appeared that our men had taken to a small grove of trees, the ground around it being clear on every side for several roods, and there fought till Mr. Boid was shot through the body, and his men all killed except one, who, with his wounded commander, was made prisoner. The firing was so close before this brave party was destroyed, that the powder of the enemy's muskets was driven into their flesh. In this conflict the enemy must have suffered greatly, as they had no cover, and our men were possessed of a very advantageous one. This advantage of ground, the obstinate bravery of the party, with some other circumstances, induced me to believe their loss must have been very considerable. They were so long employed in removing and secreting their dead, that the advancing of General Hand's party obliged them to leave one along side the riflemen, and at least a waggon load of packs, blankets, hats and provisions, which they had thrown off to enable them to act with more agility in the field; most of them appeared to have appertained to the rangers. Another reason which induces me to suppose they suffered much was, the unparalleled tortures they inflicted upon the brave and unfortunate Boid, whose body, with that of his equally unfortunate companion, we found at Chinesee. It appeared they had whipped them in the most cruel manner, pulled out Mr. Boid's nails, cut off his nose, plucked out one of his eyes, cut out his tongue, stabbed him with spears in sundry places, and inflicted others tortures which decency will not permit me to mention; lastly, cut off his head, and left his body on the ground with that of his unfortunate companion, who appeared to have experienced nearly the same savage barbarity. The party, which, it seems, Mr. Boid fell in with, was commanded by Butler, and had been posted on an advantageous piece of ground, in order to fire upon our army when advancing; but they found their design frustrated by the appearance of this party in their rear.

The army moved on that day to the castle last mentioned, which consisted of 25 houses, and had very extensive fields of corn, which being destroyed we moved, on the next day, to Chinesee, crossing in our rout a deep creek and the Little Seneca river; and after marching six miles we reached the castle, which consisted of 128 houses, mostly very large and elegant. The town was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat which extends for a number of miles, where the most exten-

sive fields of corn were, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived. The whole army was immediately engaged in destroying the crops. The corn was collected and burned in houses and kilns, that the enemy might not reap the least advantage from it, which method we have pursued in every other place. Here a woman came to us who had been captured at Wyoming. She informed us the enemy had evacuated the town two days before; that Butler, at the same time, went off with three or four hundred Indians and Rangers, as he said, to get a shot at our army. This was undoubtedly the party which cut off Lieutenant Boid. She mentioned, they kept runners constantly out, and that when our army was in motion the intelligence was communicated by a yell, immediately on which the greatest terror and confusion apparently took place among them. The women were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace, and that one of the Indians had attempted to shoot Col. Johnson for the falsehoods by which he had deceived and ruined them; that she overheard Butler telling Johnson it was impossible to keep the Indians together after the battle of Newtown; that he thought they must soon be in a miserable situation, as all their crops would be destroyed, and that Canada could not supply them with provisions at Niagara; that he would endeavour to collect the warriors to assist in the defence of that fort, which he was of an opinion this army would lay siege to, and the women and children he would send into Canada. After having destroyed this town, beyond which I was informed there was no settlement, and destroyed all their houses and crops in that quarter, the army having been advancing seventeen days, with the supply of provisions before mentioned, and that much reduced on the march by accidents, and the Cayuga country being as yet unpenetrated, I thought it necessary to return as soon as possible, in order to effect the destruction of the settlements in that quarter. The army therefore began its march for Kanadasega.

I was met on the way by a Sachem from Oneida, and three warriors, one of whom I had sent from Catherine's with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose Congress; they delivered me a message from the warriors of that nation respecting the Cayuga; copies of that, and my answer, I also enclose from this place. I detached Colonel Smith with a party down the west side of the Lake to destroy the corn which had been cut down, and to destroy any thing further which might be discovered there. I then detached Col. Gansevoort with one hundred men to Albany, to forward the baggage of the York regiments to the main army, and to take with him such soldiers as were at that place. I directed him to destroy the lower Mohawk castle in his route,

and capture the inhabitants, consisting only of six or seven families, who were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When the Mohawks joined the enemy, those few families were undoubtedly left to answer those purposes, and to keep possession of their lands. The upper castle, now inhabited by Orkeskes, our friends, he was directed not to disturb. With him I sent Mr. Deane, who bore my answer to Oneidas. I then detached Colonel Butler with six hundred men, to destroy the Cayuga country, and with him sent all the Indian warriors, who said, if they could find the Cayugas they would endeavour to persuade them to deliver themselves up as prisoners; the chief of them called Teguttelawana, being a near relation to the Sachem. I then crossed the Seneca river, and detached Col. Dearborn to the west side of the Cayuga lake, to destroy all the settlements which might be found there, and to intercept the Cayugas, if they attempted to escape Col. Butler. The residue of the army passing on between the lakes towards Catherine's. Col. Dearborn burnt in his rout six towns, which, including one which had been before partly destroyed by a small party; destroying at the same time large quantities of corn. He took an Indian lad and three women prisoners; one of the women being very ancient, and the lad a cripple, he left them, and brought on the other two, and joined the army on the evening of the 26th. Col. Cortland was then detached with 300 men up the Teaoga branch, to seek for settlements in that quarter; and, in the space of two days, destroyed several fields of corn, and burnt several houses. Col. Butler joined the army on the 28th, whereby a complete junction was formed at Conowalohala, on the 29th day after our leaving Newtown. Here we were met by a plenty of provisions from Teaga, which I had previously directed to be sent on. Col. Butler destroyed, in the Cayuga country, five principal towns, and a number of scattering houses, the whole making about one hundred in number, exceedingly large and well built; he also destroyed two hundred acres of excellent corn, with a number of orchards, one of which had in it 1500 fruit trees. Another Indian settlement was discovered near Newtown, by a party, consisting of 39 new houses, which was also destroyed. The number of towns destroyed by this army, amounts to 40, besides scattering houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. Every creek and river has been traced, and the whole country explored in search of Indian settlements; and I am well persuaded, that, except one town, situate near the Allegana, about 50 miles from Chinesee, there is not a single town left in the country of the five nations.

It is with pleasure I inform Congress, that this army has not suffered the loss of forty men, in action or otherwise, since my taking the command, though, perhaps, few troops have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Besides the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country, abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountains, morasses and defiles, we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides, and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erroneous, that they serve not to enlighten but to perplex. We had not a single person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance doubtless arose from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. We had much labour in clearing out roads for the artillery, notwithstanding which, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day, when not detained by rains, or employed in destroying settlements.

I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparelleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition. Though I had it not in command, I should have ventured to have paid Niagara a visit, had I been supplied with fifteen days provisions, in addition to what I had, which I am persuaded from the bravery and hardour of our troops would have fallen into our hands. I forgot to mention that the Oneida Sachem requested me to grant them liberty to hunt in the country of the five nations, as they would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where their settlements must ever be in our power. I, in answer, informed him, that I had no authority to grant such a license; that I could not at present see reason to object to it, but advised them to make application to Congress, who, I believed, would, in consideration of their friendly conduct, grant them every advantage of this kind that would not interfere with our settlement of the country, which I believed would soon take place. The Oneidas say, that as no Indians were discovered by Colonel Butler at Cayuga, they are of opinion they are gone to their castle, and that their Chiefs will persuade them to come in and surrender themselves on the terms I have proposed. The army began its march from Conowalohala yesterday, and arrived here this evening. After leaving the necessary force for securing the frontiers in this quarter, I shall move on to join the main army.

It would have been very pleasing to this army, to have drawn the enemy to a second engagement, but such a panic seized them after the first action, that it was impossible, as they never ventured themselves

in reach of the army, nor have they fired a single gun at it on its march or in its quarters, though in a country exceeding well calculated for ambuscades. This circumstance alone would sufficiently prove, that they suffered severely in their first effort.

Congress will please to pardon the length of this narration, as I thought a particular and circumstantial detail of facts, would not be disagreeable, especially as I have transmitted no accounts of the progress of this army since the action of the 29th of August. I flatter myself that the orders with which I was intrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement, or field of corn, in the country of the five nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. Messengers and small parties have been constantly passing, and some imprudent soldiers who straggled from the army, mistook the rout and went back almost to Chinesee without discovering even the track of an Indian. I trust that the steps I have taken with respect to the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Mohawks, will prove satisfactory. And here I beg leave to mention, that on searching the houses of those pretended neutral Cayugas, a number of scalps were found, which appeared to have been lately taken, which Colonel Butler shewed to the Oneidas, who said that they were then convinced of the justice of the steps I had taken. The promise made to the soldiers, in my address at Newtown, I hope will be thought reasonable by Congress, and flatter myself that the performance of it will be ordered.

Colonel Bruin will have the honour of delivering these dispatches to your Excellency. I beg leave to recommend him to the particular notice of Congress, as an officer who, on this, as well as several other campaigns, has proved himself an active, brave, and truly deserving officer. I have the honour to be, with the most exalted sentiments of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

John Sullivan

[To John Jay]

[*Sull. Ind. Exp.*, p. 296–305]

COLONEL BOLTON INFORMS GENERAL HALDIMAND OF SULLIVAN'S RETREAT

Niagara Octr 2nd 1779

Sir/

Joseph Brant (who went from this some time ago with a Party to observe the Enemy's Motions) arrived this day, & informs me that General Sullivan had detached 600 men from Canadasagoe towards Fort Stanwix, and has since returned to Tioga, with the main Body, where

they have erected a strong Fort—the loss of the Enemy by Major Butlers account, amounts to about 80 Killed, the number of the wounded he thinks must be considerable, he assures me if 500 men had joined the Rangers in time, there is no doubt that instead of 300, at least a thousand Warriors would have turned out, & with that Force he is convinced Mr. Sullivan would have had some reason to repent of his expedition; but the Indians not being supported as they expected, thought of nothing more than carrying off their Families, and we had at this Post the 21st of last month 5036 to supply with Provisions, and notwithstanding a number of Parties have been sent out since, we have still on the ground, 3678 to maintain—I am convinced Your Excellency will not be surprised, if I am extremely alarmed, for to support such a multitude I think will be absolutely impossible. I have requested of Major Butler to try his utmost to prevail on the Indians, whose Villages have been destroyed to go down to Montreal for the Winter, where I have assured him they would be well taken care of, & to inform all the Rest who have not suffered by the Enemy, that they must return home, & take care of their Corn &c. he has promised me he will do everything in his power, & I have no doubt of it. The two large Vessels and one of the small ones have been at Carleton Island some time, waiting for the Troops agreeable to Your Excellency's orders, however I hope they will not be long detained there, as the Season is far advanced, otherwise I foresee we shall be extremely distressed, nor is it possible for me to say what may be the consequence. The Caldwell I have employed in carrying up Provisions and merchandise to the Landing, as the Soldiers are hard at work in building Logg Houses & repairing the Store House at Fort Erie, when these are finished we shall have Barracks for 600 men, but Bed[d]ing will of course be wanted, which the Barrack Master has wrote for a considerable time ago—our works are repaired, & Lieut. Gleme on the approach of the Enemy offered his Service, and has been employed in making an Abatis, he has also been extremely useful upon all occasions in assisting Lieut. Delgarno acting Engineer—Your Excellency will see the absolute necessity of forwarding a large quantity of Provisions up with the utmost expedition, and the Vessels must navigate the Lakes as long as it's possible—a short time will determine if the Rebels mean to attempt anything more this year, and no time should be lost if Your Excellency intends to employ the Troops under Sir John Johnson—the Six Nations I have no doubt of would readily join him should an expedition be undertaken against the Oneidas, for they have given no quarter to those of that nation who fell into their hands.—

The Detachment of an hundred men that I wrote to Captain Lernoult for, arrived here some days ago, but as the Rebels have returned, I

have ordered the Major's Company & the men of the 47th who were left here to embark for Detroit, not wishing even at this time to leave that Post in too weak a state, and hope it will be in my Power to send him a further Reinforcement when Sir Johns Expedition is over—

Mason Bolton

[To General Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 100:284]

LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOLTON TOLD THAT SIR JOHN JOHNSON WILL RALLY THE INDIANS

Quebec 6th Oct. 1779

From the Enemy's Force, and the great caution they observed upon their march into the Indian Country, I am not surprized at their penetrating as far as Genessee, there being no force great enough to oppose them, but I hope the arrival of Sir John Johnson will reassemble the Indians, and confirm them in the sentiments I am glad to hear they still retain, notwithstanding the loss of the Villages and Corn.—

I would by all means have you encourage the Six Nations to settle upon the Banks of the Genessee river, where they can so easily receive assistance from Niagara by the Lake in the mean-time, unless you succeed in persuading them to send down to this province, the greatest part of their women and children, they will not only bring distress upon the Garrison, but reduce themselves to great misery—they cannot be so unreasonable as to suppose it possible that a sufficiency of provisions to maintain them all can be transported to Niagara. After having made an exact, and certain calculation of the provision you have in store, and comparing it with an estimation of your wants, no time must be lost in sending to Detroit, and to this part of the province whatever number of the Detachment under Sir John Johnson may be necessary—I shall write to you and Sir John, particular letters upon this subject. I purpose leaving a strong garrison at Carleton Island, the particulars of which, I shall likewise inform you of.

In the course of the winter, I do not apprehend that any attack can be made upon your post, nor will it be possible for Sir John Johnson to effect anything against the Enemy.

[To Lieutenant Colonel Bolton] [Gen. Haldimand]

[*Can. Arch., Hald. Coll.*, B 104:73]

COLONEL BRODHEAD CONGRATULATES GENERAL SULLIVAN ON HIS SUCCESS

Head Qrs. Pittsburg, October 10th, 1779

Dear Gen'l,

I was honored with your letter dated at Catharine Town, by Express, a few days after I returned from the expedition against the Seneca & Muncy town on the Alleghany River.

I had only six hundred & five Rank & File, including volunteers & Militia; with those I marched to the upper town on the River, called the Yahrungwago, I met with no opposition from the enemy after killing six or seven, & wounding a number out of a party of warriors consisting of Forty, that were coming against the settlements—this was done in a few minutes by the advanced Guard—composed of fifteen Light Infantry & eight Delaware Indians, without any loss on our side, except three men very slightly wounded—we destroyed in the whole, one hundred & sixty-five Cabins, 130 of which were deserted on the approach of the troops; & the most of them were new & large enough for accommodation of three or four Indian families. The far greater part of their corn was likewise in new Ground, and the preparations for Building other Cabbins indicated an inclination in the savages to collect to this settlement in great force. Yahrungwago is about forty miles on this side Jenesseo, where I should have gone had I not been disappointed in getting a sufficient number of shoes for my men.

I congratulate you on your success against the Indians and the more savage tories, & am quite happy in the reflection that our efforts promise a lasting tranquility to the Frontiers we have covered. Something still remains to be done to the westward, which I expect leave to execute, & then I conceive the wolves of the forest will have sufficient cause to howl as they will be quite destitute of food. I shall be happy to hear from you by the first conveyance, & have the honor to be, with the most perfect regard & esteem, your most obed't serv't,

Daniel Brodhead.

[To General Sullivan]

[*Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., 12:165]

CONGRESS CHIDES GENERAL SULLIVAN FOR HIS CENSURE OF THE BOARD OF WAR

[October 12, 1779]

A letter, of 23 September, from Colonel D. Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, directed to the Board of War, was laid before Congress and read, accompanied with a copy of a letter from Colonel Broadhead to Gen-

eral Washington, giving an account of his successful expedition against the Senecas and Munsey nations, and copies of his conferences with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Maquechees tribe of Shawanese:

Ordered, That the papers enclosed in Colonel Broadhead's letter be referred to the Committee of Intelligence.

The Committee to whom were referred a letter, of the 31 of August last, from the Board of War respecting their complaint of the General Orders Issued by General Sullivan, on the 21 July last, at Wyoming, reflecting on that Board, Report:

That they have examined the letters, that passed between General Washington General Sullivan and the Board of War, relative to the supplies to be furnished by that Board, to General Sullivan's army, and find, that the following articles have been supplied by the Board to General Sullivan's Army, Vizt, 8000 pr Shoes, 3000 Shirts, 3000 pr Overalls, 2000 hunting shirts, and 500 blankets. And further find that General Sullivan's requisitions have always been indefinite, requiring a large supply, but no certain quantity ever specified by him, previous to the issuing the said General orders, which rendered it impracticable for the Board of War to ascertain what were his wants. The only article that appears to be deficient are blankets. Of this Article the Board had in store no more than 1000, nor were more at that time to be procured; one half of which were sent to General Sullivan's Army, to the detriment of the troops of the grand Army. On the whole your Committee are of opinion that the Board of War, have done as much as in them lay, to comply with General Sullivan's requisitions, and to promote the public service. Nor do they think any engagements made to General Sullivan by the Board of War, are such, as can in any manner, authorize the censure contained in his General orders of the 21 July last. Therefore recommend the following resolution to be come into by Congress:

Resolved that the censure contained in General Sullivan's General orders of the 21 July last, against the Board of War, are without foundation.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1162]

CONGRESS THANKS WASHINGTON AND GENERAL SULLIVAN

[October 14, 1779]

A letter, of 9th, from General Washington, was read, enclosing a letter of 28th September, from Major General Sullivan, at Chemung, giving an account of his successful expedition against the hostile Indians; Whereupon,

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to his Excellency General Washington, for directing, and to Major General Sullivan, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing an important expedition against such of the Indian nations as, encouraged by the councils and conducted by the officers of his Britannic majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States, laid waste many of their defenceless towns, and with savage barbarity slaughtered the inhabitants thereof.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1169]

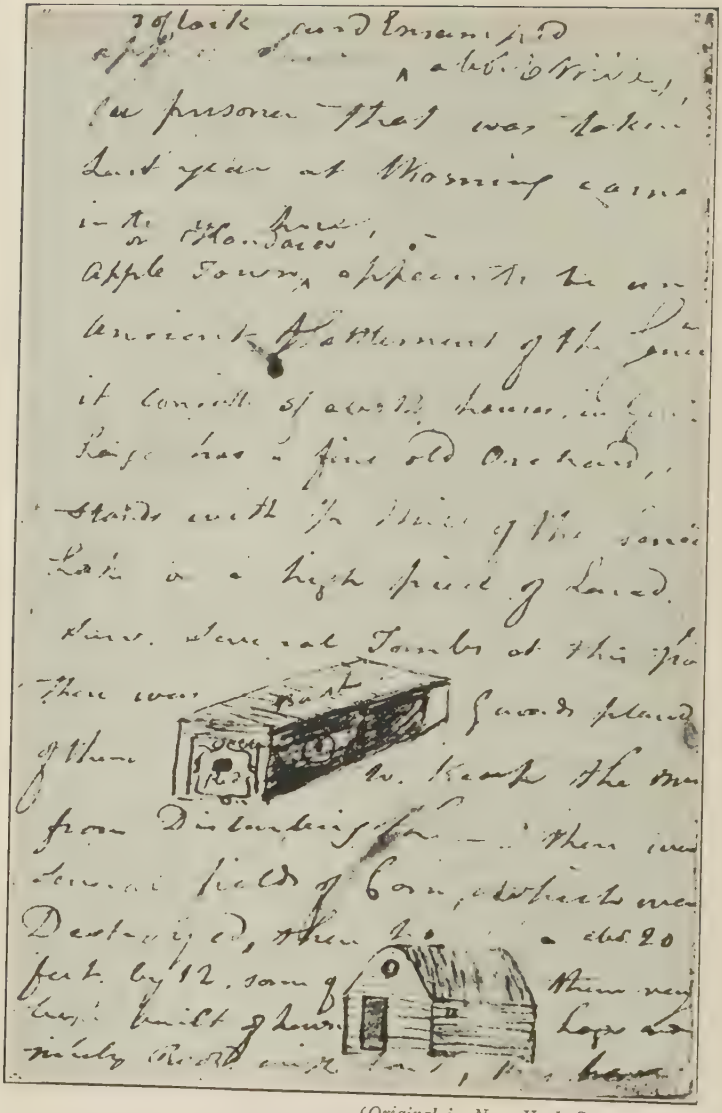
CONGRESS THANKS WASHINGTON AND COLONEL BRODHEAD

[October 27, 1779]

The committee to whom was referred a letter of the 21st, from General Washington, enclosing an extract of a letter from colonel D. Brodhead, brought in a report; Whereupon,

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to his Excellency General Washington, for directing, and to Colonel D. Brodhead and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for executing the important expedition against the Mingo and Muncey Indians, and that part of the Senecas on the Alleghany river, by which the depredations of those savages, assisted by their merciless instigators, subjects of the king of Great Britain, upon the defenceless inhabitants of the western frontiers, have been restrained and prevented.

[*Jour. Cont. Cong.*, 15:1212]



(*Original in New York State Library*)

PAGE OF FAIRLIE'S JOURNAL SHOWING ENTRY OF SEPT. 5TH. SKETCH OF TOMB AND HOUSE

JOURNALS NOT PUBLISHED IN *SULLIVAN'S INDIAN EXPEDITION*

Journal of Lieutenant James Fairlie of the Second New York Regiment, August 26 to September 8, 1779

[From original manuscript in the New York State Library]

Thursday Augt 26. The whole army marchd abot noon — our Regt being left at Tioga to Collect Cattle &c.

Friday Augt 27. Our Regt marchd abot 6 oClock. Marchd about three miles & joined the Army abot 9 oClock. Abot 10 the whole moved forward. Marchd abot 2 Miles and Encamped. The Army movd abot 5 Miles farther than we did. Pine Timber, Small

Saturday 28. Overtook the Army about 3 oClock at a large field of Corn (which they had Destroyed before we arrived) with 3 miles of Shemung. abot ½ after 4 P.M. The whole marched our brigade going over a very high mountain, to Secure the pass. of the baggage &. though [through?] a bad Defile, we arrived and Encamped at Shemung abot 8 oClock P.M.

NB. The Indians fired Sevaral Shot at a party of our men at the Cornfield, who were burning a few Houses, but did no Dammage.

Pines.

Our Scouts discoverd the Enemys fires this Evening, about 4 to 8 mile.

Sunday 29. The Army Decamped from Shemung. After Marchg abot 4 Miles fell in with the Enemy who were fortified. Smart firing of Cannon and Small Arms ensued, which Continued till near Sundown. The Enemy were beaten in all quarters, we killed 9 Indians which we got. They Carried of a Great many of their Dead and wounded. We took 2 white men & 1 negro. Encamped this Evening on the Ground the Enemy had just left. Newtown. Pines. 5 Miles from Shemung.

30th Munday. Large parties out Destroying Corn &c supposed to be 200 Acres. On this Day the Troops were put on half allowance. 2 Pieces of Cannon and all the wounded were sent this night in the Boats to Tioga.

Tuesday 31. Struck Camp and marched at 8 oClock. Marchd about 6 miles through white Oak wood, there appeard to be a very large Flatt on our Left hand, with some fields of Corn. Crossd the Cayuga branch (Chemung) proceded abot 4 Miles farther through pines and pitched Camp in a Regular Square at a little after Sunset on a pine plains near a Run of Good water.

Wednesday September 1st. Marched att 10 oClock. The pines continued about 3 miles, when enterd a White Oak woods, which continued between 2 and 3 miles. Then Enterd a Hemlock Swamp through which [*Interlined* — Crossed the Seneca Creek which ran north] was the worst Road I ever traveld. Travelled about 4 or 5 Miles, and halted abot 10 oClock at night in a small piece of Cleard land, made Fires and lay with out any Shelter. After we had marched about 2 miles fell in with a Large marsh on our Right abot 4 miles in length, at the End of which passd a very bad Defile.

Thursday 2d. Our Regt march at Sunrise, went abot ¾ mile and overtook our baggage. Abot 10 oClock the Brigade arrived when the whole proceded together, the Swamp Continuing, (we crossed the Seneca Creek 5 or 6 times) marchd 3 or 4 miles and Joined the Army at Catriens Town. There was some fields of Corn which were Destroyd before our Brigade arrived.

NB There was one Squaw taken.

Friday 3. Marched at 8 oClock, previously burning the Houses. The Swamp continued 2 miles with a large Meadow on our left. Then Ascended a hill, and came in sight of the Seneca Lake along which we marched 10 miles, through a fine White oak Woods. Crossd 5 or 6 Creeks, and Encamped abot 5 oClock in the Woods abot ½ mile from the Lake, no pasture for the Horses.

Saturday 4. Marched at 10 oClock. Travelled to the Lake, the Oaks continued, burn Several Houses and Destroyed Some Corn fields, crossd 6 or 7 Small Creeks. Went to the Shoar of the Lake, a most beautiful prospect, gathered some Excellent Plumbs. Encamped abot Dusk abot ¾ mile from the Lake in the Woods. Marched this Day 11 Miles.

Sunday 5. Marchd abot 11 oClock thro the Oaks. Arrived at Apple town 3 oClock and Encamped. Abot 6 miles. A prisoner that was taken Last year at Wioming came in to us here.

Apple Town or Kandaia appears to be an Ancient Settlement of the Seneca. It consists of abo 12 houses in Genl Large, has a fine old Orchard, stands with ½ mile of the Seneca Lake on a high piece of Land. Saw several Tombs at this pot. There was Guards placed of them to keep the men from Disturbing them. There was several fields of Corn, which was Destroyed, then houses, abot 20 feet by 12 some of them very neatly built of hewn Logs and nicely Roofd with bark. They have no chimneys but make there fires along the middle of these houses, have births on Each Side. This Evening the whole army fired their pieces.

Monday 6. A number of Cattle having strayed last Eveng parties were sent after them, which hindered us from marchg till 3 oClock PM. We Marched abot 3 miles. The oaks continued. We Encamped in the woods abot Sundown, near the Lake.

Tuesday 7. Marched at 9 oClock. Marchd abot 9 miles parrelel, and near to the Lake through the Oak Woods, then passed a bad Defile (a Large Morass on our Right, and the Lake on our Left, and Forded the outlet of the Lake, abot 30 Yards wide, pritty rapid. The Defile continuing here passed along the Beach the North End of the Lake. Destroyed a few houses and some corn. Arrived at Canadasago abot 8 oClock at night. Kanadasaga is the Capital of the Seneca's, situate abot 1½ miles NW. of the Seneca Lake on a Rising Ground. It consists of abot 60 Houses pritty Large. There was a considerable Quantity of Fruit Trees, and large Qty Corn &c. There was several Horses Taken, a White Child abot 3 Years old.

Wednesday 8. Lay still to refresh; a large party sent to Burn a Small Settlement abot 7 Miles from this or the West side the Lake. They Destroyed there also near 70 Acres of Corn.

[The entries which follow were made at the back of the book, which is apparently only a fragment, and show the persons named to have been in service in 1778 or 1779. The paging following the name is to *Archives, vol. 1* (*Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. 15*) and the reference shows that most of these named were in the Second New York Regiment and were in service during the Sullivan Campaign against the Indians.]

Mess with Capt Hallet [193], Lt Hardenberg [193], White [189] and Self [Fairlie—188]

Cyder 3 qts	¼	4	..
2 Gun	16/– paid	1 12	..

1778		Cash pd
	Capt. Hallet [193]	20/– Cash
Dec. 14	Do	2/– pd
	Peekskill Kady Leary [189]	24/– pd
Novr 10	Jno Elsworth [190]	56/–
Octor 19	Jacob J. Halnbeck [189]	16/–
Novr 25	Serjt Loughborow [Loosborrow 189; Lootborrow in *New York in the Revolution*]	8/–
Octor 19	Lt Munday [186]	6/8
	Richd Wheeler [196]	61/4 pd
White Plains, Letty		16/8

Mar. 17	John Rider [190]		16/–		
	Sundry Persons Dr To J Fairlie				
1778				s	
May 30	John Steel [191]			16	..
	do M. Freebush [191]			16	..
	L– Hill				
June 2	Mynt Bogart [216]		1	12	..
15	R. Battersby [191]		2	..	..
	Do M. Capaltson [Cabbatson — 196]		2	..	..
16	G. Douglass [191]		2	..	..
	W. Occurman [Ockerman — 191]		2	..	..
	Tob. Wygent [191]		2	..	..
	Thos Mason [191]		2	..	..
	E. Bailey [196]		2	..	..
	M. Bogart [216]		2	..	..
	A. Trimmons [191]		2	..	..
	Jno Lusk [194]		2	..	..
	Jno Rider [190]		2	..	..
	R. Wheeler [196]		2	..	..
	Jno Steel [191]		2	..	..
July 25	M. Freebush [191]		12	..	..
28	A. Trimmons [191]		6	..	..
	R. Wheeler [196]		2	..	..
	W. Occurman [191]		2	16	..
	E. Bailey [196]		2	16	..
			54	16	..
			54	16	..
July 28	Capt Ellis of 3d N H.		24	..	..
Do	R. Battersby [191]		2	16	..
	Capt Wright [192]	pd	4	8	..
	Capt Graham [188]	pd	10	..	..
	Richd White [not found]		2	..	..
	Doctor I. Smith [186]		6	16	..
Augt 10	Ensn Swartout [197]		12	..	..
		pd	116	16	
Tioga	Octor 1 Mr White [Lt. Andrew White — 189]			8	8
Wyoming	8 M Capaltson [196]			2	.

Layd a bet with Doctor Minema [186] at Wyalusing Aug. 6 that we Should have 12 men killd this Campaign out of the whole Army.

A Diary or Journal Kept by Lieut. Obadiah Gore, in Major General Sullivan's March to Genesee River

[Reprinted from Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, *Proc. and Coll.*, v. 19]

1779 July 31st The army left Wyoming and marched to Lackawanna 9 miles, and encamped on the north side of the river. The boats did not come up. They sunk one loaded with amunitions (sic).

August 1st Marched at 4 o'clock P. M. and went to Wylatomanck, 7 miles.

August 2d Lay in camp all day; David Brown was wounded.

August 3d Marched at 6 o'clock A. M. and went to Tunkhannack 10 miles.

August 4th Marched at 5 o'clock A. M. and went to a black walnut bottom. Two Indians were discovered near Meshopping.

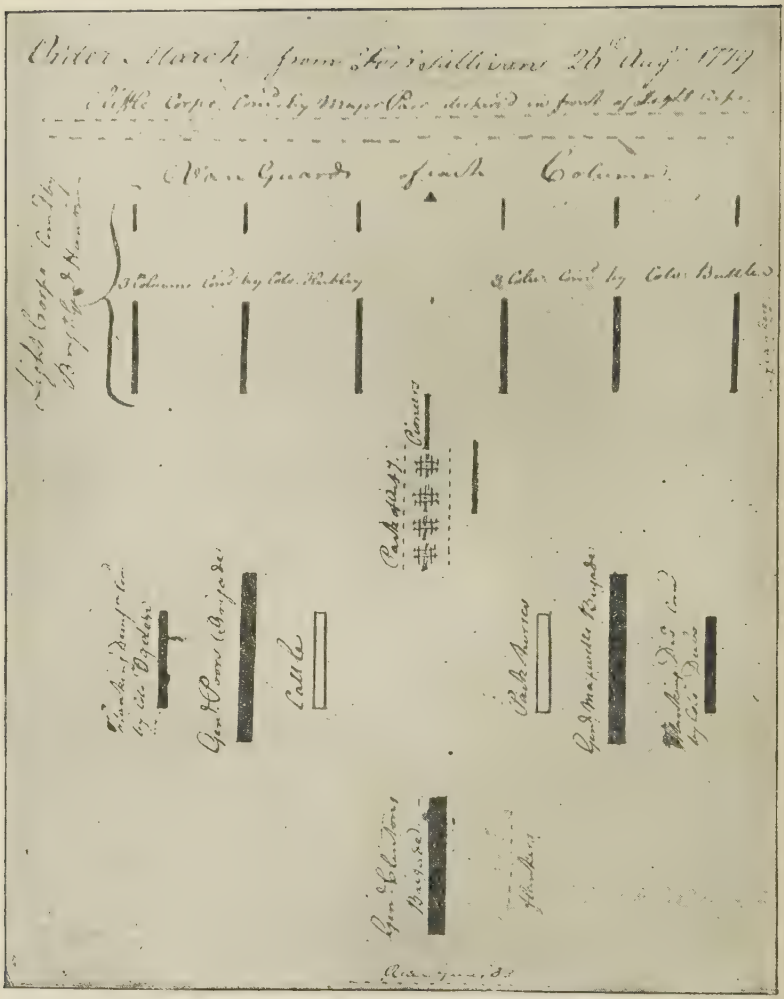
August 5th Marched to Wyalusing. Wm. Stewart left a man sick, alone at his Drovers Encampment, and when relief was sent him the next day, they found him dead. Also one fell from the boat, when on the way to Wyalusing, and was drowned; and another died very sudden, immediately after the arrival of the army at Wyalusing the same day.

August 6th Lay in camp all day. At evening Lt. Cramer and three of our men went out to scout for some days; and we were ordered to march tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock.

August 7th It rained hard in the morning, upon which we were ordered not to march; this day, at 12 o'clock, the light infantry and our rifle men were ordered on a scout, and returned without any discovery.

August 8th Marched at 5 o'clock to Wysocks. On our way we met Lt. Cramer with his party, that was sent out the 6th, who had discovered the tracks of some Indian spies. General Sullivan's health not permitting him to ride, he came this day in the boats, which with the main army did not come farther than the Standing Stone, about 3 miles back of the light troops.

August 9th Waited until 10 o'clock for the army to come up; at which time we marched to the upper Shashequin Falls; which is a large piece of Bottom Land, that the whole army encamped upon it at night. This day, passing a narrow defile upon the side of Breakneck mountain, three oxen fell down the bank and killed themselves, and in the evening one of the small boats loaded with flour was stove, and her loading lost by reason of darkness.



(*Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society*)

ORDER OF MARCH, AUG. 6, 1779, FROM HUBLEY'S JOURNAL

August 10th Lay in camp. This day a large scout was sent up to Tioga, and found a milch cow, and returned without any other discovery.

August 11th Marched at 7 o'clock, and in about one mile the whole army forded the river, and marched upon the west side, about five miles, to Tioga. We forded that, and encamped in the Forks, about 1½ miles from the mouth. At evening, Lieut. Jenkins with a party went near to Chemong to reconnoitre the town. Discovered some of the enemy's horses and cattle.

August 12th Lieut. Jenkins returned and our whole brigade, who were able to march, were ordered out together, with part of General Poor's brigade; we

August 13th Marched all night, and at day break reached the lower end of Chemong Flats, where the enemy's advance picket were posted; they evacuated it without discharging a gun, and alarmed the town, that when we surrounded it, the folks were all gone from home. However, we pursued them about one mile above the town, and were fired upon from an ambuscade of about 40 or 50 of the enemy, and in about 6 miles we gained the height where the enemy were. After we had reconnoitered the woods round, we returned and burnt the town, and proceeded to destroy the corn. In effecting that, Col. Cilly of General Poor's brigade was fired upon by the enemy; they returned the fire, which routed them the second time. After we had destroyed the town, corn, etc., we returned at night to Tioga, much fatigued.

Aug. 14th Lay in camp all day.

15th A number of cattle-drivers, over on the south side of Tioga, after the cattle etc. were fired upon by a party of Indians. Jabez Elliot was killed and scalped, and one other wounded; also one missing.

16th A detachment of 900 men from the army, under the command of Gens. Poor and Hand, were sent with eight days provisions up the Susquehanna River to meet General Clinton.

17th Lay in camp. At about sun-set, a party of Indians attacked a number of packhorse-drivers, that were after their horses, and killed one, wounded another. They both belonged to the German battalion. A scout was sent in quest of them, but to no purpose.

18th Lay in camp; at 11 o'clock Doct. Rogers delivered a funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of Capt. Davis and Lieut. Jones, members of the Society of Free Masons. This day there was so great a demand for men for guards, pickets, and scouts, that there was only 4 privates off duty in the whole brigade.

19th Lay in camp. Nothing happened worthy of notice.

20th Lay in camp. In the morning, a boat came from Genl. Clinton's army, who informed they were at Owago, about 24 miles distant. It rained all day; kept close in our quarters.

21st Still lay in camp.

22d At about 11 o'clock the detachment under the command of General Poor and Hand, that marched from here the 16th returned, in company with General Clinton's brigade, and upward of 200 batteaux, pieces of cannon, etc. They received a compliment of the discharge of 13 cannon from our artillery, and three huzzas; from which they proceeded down to the other encampment.

23d Received orders to make preparation for marching the 25th into the Indian country. Arrangements of regiments etc. were made in the brigades. In the afternoon, Capt. Kimball, of Col. Cilly's regiment, was killed by the accidental discharge of a gun, and one other wounded.

24th The 4th Pennsylvania regiment and the Rifle Corps joined our brigade. We left our encampment about 3 o'clock P. M. and marched about 100 rods in front, and there encamped at night. This day another gun was accidentally discharged, in the lower encampment, that wounded a man in the thigh. We were ordered to march tomorrow morning.

25th Were detained by the Commissary and Qu. Master's Departments; in the morning at about 10 o'clock, 3 Indians came into camp, said to be friend-Indians from Oneida, and about the same time of day, it began to rain and continued. While just night this day, John Cary came into camp, in company with two expresses from Fort Pitt. We were ordered to march at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning.

26th The whole army marched at 12 o'clock and advanced 4 miles, and encamped, with a view of crossing Tioga in the morning, but the river had risen over night near 3 feet.

27th Marched about 8 o'clock A. M. and went about 6 miles. In this day's march we passed a narrows, or defile, by the side of the river in which we broke a waggon; and other difficulties attended that impeded our march the greater part of the day. Clinton's brigade, that brought up the rear of the army, did not pass the defile this day; however, we reached and encamped on a most beautiful tract of land, that had been possessed by the Tories; in which they had 30 or 40 acres of extraordinary good corn, beans, potatoes, tobacco, turnips, etc.; a great rarity to our

troops. This place was evacuated by the enemy, previous to our march to Chemong.

28th In the fore part of the day, our troops were busily employed in destroying the corn, etc. At 3 o'clock P. M. the army were assembled to march, when 4 or 5 of the enemy on the other side of the river came down, and fired upon the boatmen and immediately run back into the woods. However, we marched that night, and encamped at Chemong.

29th Marched at 8 A. M. and our advanced parties frequently discovered Indians in front, and at the distance of about 4 miles, they had a breast-work situated on a very advantageous height. The rifle corps crept up, and amused them with a scattering fire for 2 or 3 hours, attended with some execution, while our artillery could be brought up to play upon them. Meantime, Genls. Poor and Clinton's brigades advanced to gain the enemy's rear. At 3 P. M. we begun a cannonade upon the breast-work, and in about 6 minutes they began to run and quit their works, which our advance party took possession of immediately. The right flank of the enemy, in their flight, fell in with General Poor's brigade, who gave them a warm reception, which put them in such precipitation, as to leave packs, blankets, guns, powder and even an officer's commission etc. We found 9 dead, and took 2 prisoners, and have reason to think that considerable other execution was done, as there was great quantities of blood found in their paths. In all which, we had only 5 killed and twenty three wounded. We passed the breast-work about one mile, and encamped at night. The troops were much animated with this days success.

30th The army lay in camp all day, while a large fatigue party was sent out to destroy the corn and other vegetables about this place, which amounted to some hundreds of acres of extraordinary good corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, turnips and potatoes. Also we burnt several Indian buildings. Sundry horses were taken up this day; likewise a great quantity of Indian baggage; such as blankets, leggins, moccasins, skins and many other valuable effects. In one Indian pack was found 46 hard dollars, and a great number of brooches and beads; in another was found thirteen guineas.

Aug. 31st Marched at 10 A. M. and went 10 miles, over an extraordinary good country of land; whereon was a considerable number of Indian buildings, which we burnt. The Indians had hid abundance of their treasures, which our soldiers found. Corn-

fields were numerous and excellent good. This day we left Tioga. Some canoes were seen going up the river, upon which the rifle-corps and a company of the light infantry were sent after them, but they did not come up with them; however, they burnt a number of buildings, and destroyed about 4 acres of corn.

Sept. 1st Marched at 8 A. M. and by 12 o'clock, we were on the waters of the river St. Lawrence, and in following them down, we passed through about 3 miles of hemlock swamp, at the end of which, was extraordinary good land, between two mountains that widened out to a great extent, and a fine level level (*sic*) country appeared before us; we arrived at French Catherine's at night, where we were plentifully supplied with vegetables. The Indian fires were still burning in many places, but they had evacuated the place, all, except an old squaw that could not travel. She informed us that they held a council in the morning, in which the squaws insisted that the warriors should make a stand at this place, but they thought they were not able to withstand us. However, it was concluded that the squaws should go immediately off with their cattle, horses, and baggage and the warriors to remain to fight us. But upon the approach of our troops, they went off and left their fires as above. We found at this place horses, cattle, hogs and abundance of furniture etc. our baggage did not come up this night.

Sept. 2d Our baggage came up in the morning; the troops and horses much fatigued with their yesterday's march. We lay in camp all day. Two scouts were sent out, but they made no other discovery, than the tracks of the enemy, with their horses and cattle going off.

3d Marched at 8 in the morning and went 12 miles, about a north course, over an extraordinary good country of land, mostly upland, with Walnut, White Ash and White Oak timber. No mountains in sight all day. One of our advance parties discovered an Indian spy; a little before we encamped, who made off with himself very quick. After we encamped, some soldiers went forward about half a mile, where was a small Indian settlement, which furnished us with plenty of vegetables, and our horses with forage. This country is pleasantly situated between the Conodegago and Cyuga Lakes about 8 miles distant one from the other and the course of them is about North and South.

4th It rained in the morning; marched at 11, and went nearly the same course as yesterday, over a most excellent country of upland; the road at about one mile distant from the lake on the east side;

we traveled 13 miles, encamped a mile in front of the main army. No mountains in sight all day. We destroyed some corn and Indian Colibins [cabins?].

5th Waited till near 11 o'clock for the main army to come up; at which time we marched; on our way we destroyed some corn-fields and burnt one house. One o'clock came to a town called Kenday; considerable of an elegant town, and pleasantly situated on the east side of the lake, and a large number of apple and peach trees, also large corn-fields. The country exceeding good and pleasant. Near this town the rifle men fell in with Mr. Sweatland, as he was making his escape from the enemy to us, who informed that old Butler, with his party of Indians and Tories, had left this town last Thursday and Friday, and consisted of about 800, which was all they could raise, and that the whole had engaged us in the battle of Newtown; but the particulars of their loss he could not learn. However, they were very short of provisions, and eat horses, and that the Indian families had all moved to Conadagago.

6th The horses and cattle had strayed over night so much, the army did not march until 3 P. M. and then without a considerable number of both horses and cattle, that we were under a necessity of leaving a quantity of flour, under the care of a guard; we marched about 3 miles over an extraordinary country of land, and encamped on the banks of the lake.

7th Marched at 8 A. M. and went over extraordinary good land; at about 2 o'clock we passed a large creek, when the Lake discharges itself, by the side of which was marshy and swampy land, that hindered the army several hours to pass; however, at night, we came to the Conodagago Indian town, which was by far the greatest town we came to yet; in this, was found a white child about 3 years old,—also was found 6 scalps, that they had taken from the white people.

8th The army lay in camp to wash their clothes and collect vegetables, which grow here in great plenty.—Corn fields numerous, and exceeding good, and abundance of fruit trees; all of which Fatigue Parties were sent out to destroy; also a party of about 140 men, under the command of Major Parr, was sent to destroy a town about 7 miles from this place and on the west side of the lake. Just before night, he sent for a reinforcement to help him destroy the corn there, that was in such plenty as would require some days for him to effect, upon which a Field Officer's command was sent to his assistance. The remainder of the army was ordered to

march tomorrow morning for the Genessee river, except a Captain's command, who was ordered to return with the invalids to Tioga.

9th It rained in the morning. The army marched at 12 o'clock and went about 7 miles, a westerly course, over an exceeding good country of land. At night the two commands, mentioned yesterday, came up who informed they burnt upwards of twenty houses, and destroyed the corn, fruit-trees, hogs, poultry, and taken some horses etc. This town is known by the name of Schèquaga.

10th Marched at 8 o'clock in the morning and went eight miles, to a beautiful lake, near to which was an Indian town called Annongedoque, pleasantly situated; with buildings good and elegant; corn and vegetables in great plenty. We arrived at the town at 2 o'clock; burnt it and proceeded to destroy the corn, etc.

11th Marched at 6 A. M. and went nearly a south-west course, over a good country of land 13½ miles, to an Indian town called Anwoughyawna, with great improvements about it. The Indians left some fires burning. This town is pleasantly situated near a small lake. Here we left the greatest part of our ammunition and provisions, together with our worst horses, under the care of a proper guard.

12th It rained in the fore part of the day; that prevented our marching till near one o'clock. However, we marched 12 miles a southwesterly course, over exceeding good land and encamped in the wilderness, about 1½ miles from an Indian town called Coneighgoos. In the night, Lieut. Boyd, of the rifle corps, was sent with 23 men to reconnoitre a town, on a branch of the Genessee, about 6 miles distant, and they were to return in the morning as soon as possible.

13th The army marched at 5 in the morning and went to Coneighgoos, and halted to destroy the corn and vegetables, which were then in great plenty. At about 8 o'clock, 3 men of Lieut. Boyd's party came in, and informed that they had been to the town, and the Indians had evacuated it. At about 12 o'clock 3 men more of the same party came in, and informed, that Boyd had concluded to remain in the town, until the army came up (which was against orders). And as they lay concealed in the bushes 4 Indians came into town. Two of Boyd's party fired upon them; killed one and wounded another. After this Boyd thought best to return with his party, and on his way was attacked by about 150 Indians, who, they supposed, had cut off the whole party except themselves; in a few minutes, the whole army was alarmed by a party

of Indians firing upon the Surveyor who had gone on a little in front of the army. One of the chain-men was shot through. The army marched a westerly course over a good country of land to ————, and on the way we found of Boyd's party lay dead and mangled in the Indian manner. At this town was abundance of corn and vegetables.

14th The chain-man, mentioned yesterday, died this morning. A fatigue party, of two thousand men, was ordered out at 6 o'clock to destroy the corn etc. which was effected at about 12 o'clock. Then the army marched about 5 miles to the Genessee town, on the west side of the river; a large town, and the pleasantest situated place I ever saw; with abundance of corn and vegetables about it; here was found the bodies of two men; one supposed to be Lieut. Boyd's and another who was taken, brought here, and butchered in the most savage and inhuman manner possible. They were both buried in the evening.

15th Large fatigue parties were sent out early in the morning, to destroy corn and the vegetables growing here. It was computed, that not less than 200 acres of corn was destroyed about this town, and the largest that ever I saw grow. The town and other outbuildings, which was numerous, were burnt. Mrs. Lester,[1] formerly of Westmoreland,[2] who was taken the 5th of last Nov., came in to us, with her child, and informed that the Indians were dispersed in the woods, with their families and moveables. But those that we drove from the more easterly towns were all gone to Niagara. They had a considerable number of other prisoners yet with them. At half after 4 o'clock P. M. we had effected the destruction of the Genessee, and begun our march to return. We encamped at night on a large Flat, on the East side of the river.

16th In the morning large fatigue parties were sent out to destroy corn. A party under the command of (?) was sent about 4 miles up the east branch of the Genessee, to burn a town and destroy a town there. They returned by 12 o'clock, at which the army marched and went to Coneighgoos; but on the way, our

---

1 Edward Lester and one of his children were killed by a party of Indians November 5, 1778, Mrs Lester and her baby were taken prisoners. Sullivan's army brought them back to Wyoming. She subsequently became the wife of Roswell Franklin whose wife had been killed by the Indians while he and his friends were trying to rescue her and her two children from captivity. Roswell Franklin twice had his home with all its contents and his live stock burned and destroyed by hostile Indians.

2 The name given Wyoming by Connecticut and retained until 1783.

flanks went over the ground where Lieut. Boyd had his engagement with the Indians, and found fourteen of his men lying dead and scalped; among which was Honeost the Oneida Col.

17th Marched at 6 o'clock, and went to Annoughyawna, where we left our provisions etc, and found all safe; we arrived at 10 o'clock and encamped.

18th Marched at 9, and went to Annongedago Lake, and encamped about 12 o'clock. This day we met an Indian from Oneida, who informed, that New York was in the possession of the Continental Army, with a number of circumstances attending it etc., etc., etc.

19th Marched to Conadegago.

Journal of Lieutenant Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779

[Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 27:404–20; 28:12–22.]

Monday 14th June 1779.—Marched from Albany with Capt. Wool's Blisses & Porter's Company's of Artillery—Arrived in Scanactady 4 o'clock P. M.—Crossed the Mohawk River and encamped on the North Side—Dist. 17 miles—The Country from Albany to Scanactady is a very light sandy soil that produceth little else but scrubby Pines—Scanactady is a very pleasant Town situated on the S. side of the Mohawk River. It contains about four Hundred Houses, built regular, & in a very fertile spot of land.

June 15th.—At 2 o'clock we embarked on board two Batteaus loaded with Military Stores. Proceeded five miles up the River, and encamped on the North Side.

June 16th.—Struck our tent at Eight and embarked. Passed several strong Reefs and Rapid Currents which fatigued us very much. Encamped on the North Side—Distance 16 miles.

June 17th.—Encamped at 8 o'clock—The Reefs & Strong Currents continuing some of which were very difficult to get over (our boats being very heavy loaded) Passed Johnstown Side and the Mouth of Schoharie Creek. Encamped at Canawago on the South Side of the River— Distance 13 miles.

June 18th.—Embarked at 11 o'clock and proceeded over some bad Reefs. Arrived at Canajoharie 5 o'clock P.M. Distance 13 miles.

The general course of this River is from NW. to SE. in most places 150 Y'ds wide—The Channel very Irregular. In some places fordable & others very deep. It is very difficult to go up with boats on account

of the many bad Reefs and rapid Currents. The banks are for the most part 10 or 12 feet high—The land near the River is very fertile—At this place lay Coll. Gansewoert's & Butler's Reg't—Coll. Weisenfelt's & Alden's having marched for Lake Otsega the day before—Here was a great Quantity of provisions and a large number of waggons employed in conveying it & the Batteaus to the lake—Encamped on a hill at some distance from the River on the South Side, very much fatigued with our journey.

June 19th.—This day Coll. Butler's Reg't. and the Rifle Corpse marched towards the lake.

June 20th.—This morning we received two light three pounders from Fort Schuyler with their amunitions &c—Nothing material happened.

June 21st.—This day was executed a Spy called Henry Herr, who said he was a private in Coll. John Butler's Reg't. He was taken up by a party of Militia at some distance from here, found guilty & hanged. Several others are in Confinement.

June 22nd.—Nothing Material happened.

June 23rd.—Nothing Material—Mustered in the Afternoon.

June 24th.—This day was shot ——— Titus, a soldier in the 5th N.Y. Reg't for desertion. This day we had an elegant dinner at which was present thirty five gentlemen of the different Reg'ts.

June 25th.—March at 10 o'clock with Coll. Deboin's Reg't towards Lake Otsega, passed through an Indifferent Country, but thinly Inhabited—passed near some Salt Springs, Encamped at the foot of Brimstone Hill—Slept very Indifferently being much annoyed by a small fly called a punk—Rain in the Night—Distance 13 miles.

June 26th.—Marched at 6 o'clock, passed Brimstone Hill which is very high, halted at Springfield & breakfasted with Capt. Butler's Reg't—Arrived at Lake Otsega 3 o'clock P.M. Embarked in Batteaus with Coll Deboin's Reg't & the Military Stores & proceeded to the N end at Lows Farms—Dist. 2 miles. The Country from Brimstone Hill to the Lake is very fertile but not Inhabited only at Springfield, where has been a few houses which are burned to the ground by the Indians —The Country appears like low or Island land—The Timber chiefly Beech, Elm, Ash, Sugar Maple, & the Gum, & near the lake some Hemlock Swamps.

June 27th.—Lay in Camp—a large quantity of provisions were sent from the lower landing to this place for Storage. This place is situated very pleasantly in a fine grass Country—Some Improvements have been made here and a saw mill erected—plenty of Fish in the lake and Neighboring Brooks.

June 28th.—Gave an Entertainment to-day to the gentlemen of the other Reg'ts—spent the day very agreeably. what we wanted in variety and Convenience was amply made up in good humour and Harmony, The remembrance of which naturally leads me to reflect on these ceremonious assemblys (we generally see in Cities & populous Countries) called Entertainments—where instead of promoting Harmony & Uninimity, they sow the seeds of discord & perpetual animosity—Instead of satisfying Nature with Temperance they satiate her with luxury.

June 29th.—Went to Springfield (dist. 6 miles) in Company with a number of gentlemen to dine with the Officers of Coll. Butler's Reg't, in compliance with a previous Invitation.

June 30th.—The General Hospital arrived to-day.

July 1st.—Nothing of Consequence happened.

July 2nd.—Received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march. Embarked our Artillery, Ammunition & provision on board the boats & lay ready to march.

July 3rd.—Embarked at 7 o'clock on board 11 Batteaus (with Coll Deboin's Reg't) & proceeded to the south end of the lake (dist. 10 miles)—Stored our ammunition in Cockran's House which stands about 200 yards from the lake & encamped near it. At this place lay Coll Butler's & Gansewoerts Regts with the Riflemen—Coll. Weisenfelts with his Reg't arrived in the afternoon.

This lake is about 9 miles in length & from one to two wide—very pleasant. The water near the shore is shallow but in the middle very deep & of a greenish colour & hemm'd in on all sides by a ridge of Mountains. At this place there is an outlet which makes a small brook that forms the Head of the East branch of the Susquehanna River. This breast will not admit of more than one batteau abreast to pass & that with difficulty—to remedy which we erected a dam across the outlet in order to raise a head of water in the lake to facilitate our passage down.

July 4th.—This day being the anniversary of Independance, the troops were paraded on the banks of the lake, when thirteen peices of Cannon were discharged together with a running fire of musquetry three times along the line with as many huzzas from the troops—after which they all marched to the grand parade, when an excellent discourse was delivered suitable to the occasion by the Rev'd. Doct. Gans, Chaplan to the New York Brigade.

July 5th.—Coll. Aldens Reg't. with the remainder of the stores & provisions arrived this afternoon.

July 6th.—Mr. Dean with a number of Oneida Indians arrived this afternoon—

July 7th–9th.—Nothing worthy of notice occurred.

July 10th.—This day found by experience that F:M =m:E.

July 11th.—This morning I went out with a scout of sixty men, marched through the woods about 12 miles when we encamped—Rained hard all day—at night the Rain and Wind increased—found our lodging none of the best.

July 12th.—Rain in the morning early & very cold being out of provision the party returnd all but the men with whom I resolved to prosecute our Journey—We then proceeded over mountains, hills & morasses until we arrived at the Canandaragua or Schuyler's Lake about 7 miles farther—Here we staid some time to take a view of the lake & adjacent country—This lake lies about 8 miles W of Otsega Lake—it is about 7 miles in length & 1½ in width, the outlet running S. E. falls into, or forms a junction with, Otsega Creek about 7 miles below the Lake and there assumes the name of Susquehanna River—Returned about 6 miles on our way to Camp when night overtaking us, we were obliged to lay in the woods without fire.

July 13th.—Rose early in the morning & pursued our journey to camp where we arrived at 8 o'clock, hungry & fatigued.

July 14th.—Nothing Material happened.

July 15th.—This day found the difference between EP & FC.

July 16th.—Wrote some letters to my correspondants.

July 17th–19th.—Nothing worthy of notice.

July 20th.—Lieut. Howell joined us from Albany, also found to my great S. that M:M = M:E.

July 21st.—Wrote some letters to correspondants. A party was sent out to day to measure the distance to Lake Schuyler.

July 22nd.—The party mentioned yesterday returned having measured the distance from here to Lake Schuyler found it to be N 30° W from the lower end of Lake Otsega to the lower end of Schuyler Lake dist. 8 miles. Gen. Court Martial ordered.

July 23rd–26th.—Nothing of Consequence happened.

July 27th.—A detachment of 265 men commanded by Coll. Gansewort ordered out.

July 28.—Soldier in the 3rd N Y Regt shot for desertion—two under same predicament reprieved.

July 29th–30th.—Nothing material.

July 31st.—The party mentioned the 27th returned having been at Forts Plank & Herkimer (dist. 20 & 22 miles), the enemy that occas-

sioned this movement having retreated, leaving many marks of Barbarism behind.

August 1st.—A command of 150 men was sent to [?] Creek, dist. 3 miles under the command of Major Pave.

August 2nd–7th, nothing happened.

August 8th.—Prepared two boats to carry our artillery, mounted them on Truck Carriages, made experiments on the Lake—embarked our stores on board 15 Batteaus & orders to march in the morning.

August 9th.—Took our departure from the Lake this morning with our little army consisting of 1500 effective men with 208 Batteaus loaded with provisions, ammunitions & proceeded in the following order:

1st—300 Light Infantry Commanded by Coll Butler & Major Cockran & Parr marching on the west side of the river formed the advanc'd Guard. The other Troops that could be spared from the Boats form'd the flanks & Rearguard, the Horses, Cattle &c. marched within the flank guard. The line of boats was in the following order.

A few boats with light Infantry formed the advance party;

2nd—One peice of artillery & the General.

3d—4th Pennsylvania & 4 N. York Rgt.

4th—Military Compy Hospital & 2 M. G. Stores.

6th—2nd peice of Artillery.

7th—3rd N. York brought up the Rear.

Encamped at Burrowses farm dist. 17 miles by land & 20 by water—plenty of rattle snakes here—Rains in the Night—

The general course of this River to-day is about S 20° W—for ten miles down it is not more than 20 yards wide & from 1½ to 5 feet deep. 8 miles from the Lake falls in the Oatis Creek from Lake Schuyler & 7 miles further Cherry Valley Creek empties—a little lower it widens to about 40 yards—This Brook or River is very Navigable for so small a Stream—obstructed only by logs & trees fell across it. The adjacent Country is rich, fertile & abounds with most sorts of Timber. The situation low, but rising gradually into hills, at a distance from the shore but free from stone. The river is very crooked forming a number of very short turns which run in every point of the compass—Previous to our leaving the Lake the dam was opened which raised the water in the river & therby greatly faciliated our passage down.

August 10th.—Marched at 3 o'clock P.M. Arrived at Yorkams at sunset dist. 5 miles by land & 6 by water. About a mile below Burrowses the river runs very rapid passing through a small ridge of mountains which continued all the way. Encamped here—the place

very pleasant. Here has been an Improvement—a barn, house & an orchard; found a peice of bark with an Inscription in the Indian Tongue, which Mr. Dean translated thus—

the day before holyday 1779 on this ground are 200 Indians friends to General Washington.

August 11th.—Embarked at 8 o'clock. passed a large creek from the East Side—several reefs & narrows which retarded our march. Rapids continue for 8 miles. Encamped on Ogden's farm W. Side dist. 15 miles by land & 21 by water—the River very crooked forming a number of small Islands—from 40 to 50 yds wide. The banks in some places pretty high—the land very good & abounds with Butternut, Elm Ash, Maple Burch & Beech, thick foggy air.

August 12th.—Took our departure at 7 o'clock, the river down for 9 miles was a very easy current so as to admit our boats three abreast—then it began to be rapid. Encamped at Unadilla, about a mile above the confluence. The Country we passed is very good.

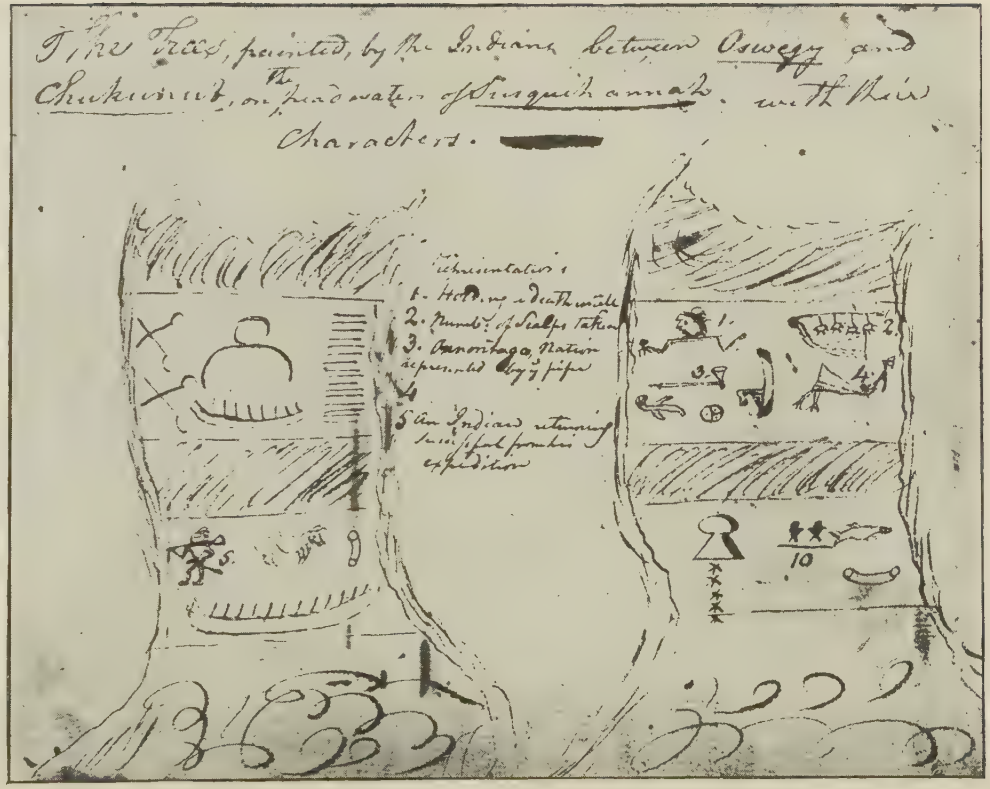
Here has been a good settlement inhabited chiefly by Scotch Emigrants who last year fled to the Indians for protection—It was formerly an old Indian settlement & last fall was burnt by Coll Butler—Dist. 65 miles by land & 20 by water, E. Side.

August 13th.—Early this morning went to see an old Indian fort, about a mile from Camp, which appeared to be very old, of a circular form & contain'd about half an acre—passed some reefs, the mouth of the Unadilla river which empties from the W. Side. Encamped at Cannahrunta on an Island, dist. 14 miles by land & 17 by water, the country very good—several old settlements on both sides of the river. The river after the junction of Unadilla is about an hundred yards wide—several rapids occasioned by Fish dams.

August 14th.—Embarked at 9 o'clock passed several old settlements, water pretty good & few rapids. Encamped at Onequaya dist. 12 miles by land & 15 by water. This was an old Indian town that contained about fifty houses, some of which are very good—there has likewise been a church with a Christian Missionary. The land for ½ mile from the river is very good, but farther back it rises into hills. It has been settled on both sides of the river for many years & has long been an Asylum for miscreant Refugees from the neighboring States—last fall it was burnt & destroyed by Coll. Butler.

August 15th.—Lay by waiting for a number of Militia expected from Esopus.

August 16th.—A party was sent in quest of the Militia who returned without them.


The Trees, painted, by the Indians between Oswegy and Chuckiusuck, on the head waters of Susquehannah. with their Characters.
Explanation:
1. Hoeing a Deathmaul
2. Number of Scalps taken
3. Canonitago, Nation depended by 7 pipes
5 An Indian returning unsuccessful from the expedition
10

(Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society)

August 17th.—Embarked at 9 o'clock, the river running nearly South & for 10 miles a very good current, a little farther it became very shallow, with a number of Islands. Encamped at the Tuscarora Settlement on the W. Side, dist. 20 miles by land & 25 by water—Several high rocks on the bank of the river—burnt a number of Indian houses on the passage.

August 18th.—Embarked at 9 o'clock. The river running nearly N. W. The navigation good—Passed the mouth of the Sheninga River from the W. side encamped a little way below that place—dist. by water 24 miles & by land 20—the distance by land across to Onoquaga is but 16 miles occasioned by the crooked course of the river—There has been a large Indian Town about 3 miles up the Shenango river, which we sent a detachment to destroy—Two men met us this afternoon from Gen Poor, informing us that Gen. Sullivan was at the Tioga & had detached him (Gen. Poor) with a party up the river to meet us.

August 19th.—Embarked at 9 o'clock—The river very shallow and full of islands—at 6 miles down we met Generals Poor & Hand with nine hundred men from Gen Sullivan, to escort us down—Halted some time & then proceeded with them down the river. Encamped at Owaga on a fine plain on the West side of the river, dist. by land 20 & by water 24 miles—a mile and half from here there has been an Indian Town which we destroyed.

August 20th.—Rain all day which occassioned us to lay by.

August 21st.—Marched at 8 o'clock. Two boats with ammunition overset. Encamped at Fiby Patrick's farm or in Indian Majatawaga, dist. 12 miles by land & 14 by water—Pitched our tents in an open peice of woods and in extensive plain.

August 22nd.—Embarked at 7 o'clock, arrived at Tioga at 9—dist. 8 miles On our arrival at the Light Infantry Camp (which was about a mile from the main army), we were saluted with a discharge of 13 cannon—when we arrived opposite the Park, the like number was fired —after which we landed and encamped in the Park with Coll Proctor's Reg't.

This encampment is situated on a neck of land just above the conflux of the Susquehanna and Tioga Rivers—The land level producing a great quantity of grass—a mile above the park lay the light troops of the army commanded by Gen Hand—this encampment extended from one river to another which is only 200 yards, where there are three block houses building—At this place lay Generals Poor's Maxfield's & Hand's Brigades—with Coll Proctor's regiment of Artillery—the whole making near five thousand men with two 6 pounders, two 5½ Howitzers, four 3 pounders & a small Cohorn.—A universal joy now

diffused itself through the army on the happy junction so long expected, and mutual congratulations closed the day. The general course of this river is from N.E. to S.W. in many places shallow, but on the whole very navigable—arrived all safe—during the course of the march the order was changed reciprocally from front to rear every day.

August 23rd.—Ordered to prepare to march—all the spare tents of the army were collected to make bags to hold flour for the expedition —the pack Horses got in readiness.

August 24th.—Continued our preparations to march; at 3 o'clock a gun was fired, as a signal to strike our tents & march—found great deficiency in point of pack horses &c., which occassioned great confusion. In the evening another gun was fired to pitch our tents—lay on the same ground.

August 25th.—Preparations for marching continued—drew six days salt provision—heavy rain which prevented us from marching.

August 26th.—At 11 o'clock this morning after great difficulty, we got under way and began our march towards the Indian Country in the following order—Gen. Hand with a brigade of light Infantry and Rifle Corps formed the advance guard. Gen. Poor's formed the right & Gen. Maxfield the left flank—Gen. Clinton's brigade brought up the rear—after the light infantry and between the flanks was the Park consisting of two 5½ Irish Howitzers, Six light 3 pounders and one small Cohorn with ammunition &c. &c. The flank marched at such a distance from each other as to admit the pack horses in the centre—We carried with us 30 days provision & 1200 pack horses, in this manner we proceeded up the Tioga River about 3 miles through a very level & open country—Encamped on the bank of a beautiful & extensive meadow, that afforded a delightful prospect and plenty of grass for our horses.

August 27th.—Marched at 9 o'clock, for two miles the country continued open & the road good, but after became bad by a ridge of mountains that projected itself close to the river—where we had to pass a narrow defile in the edge of the river—a high bank in ascending from the river—passed some deep swamps. Encamped on the banks of an extensive plain about 10 o'clock at night—found plenty of corn & beans here on which we fared sumptously—dist. 5 miles.

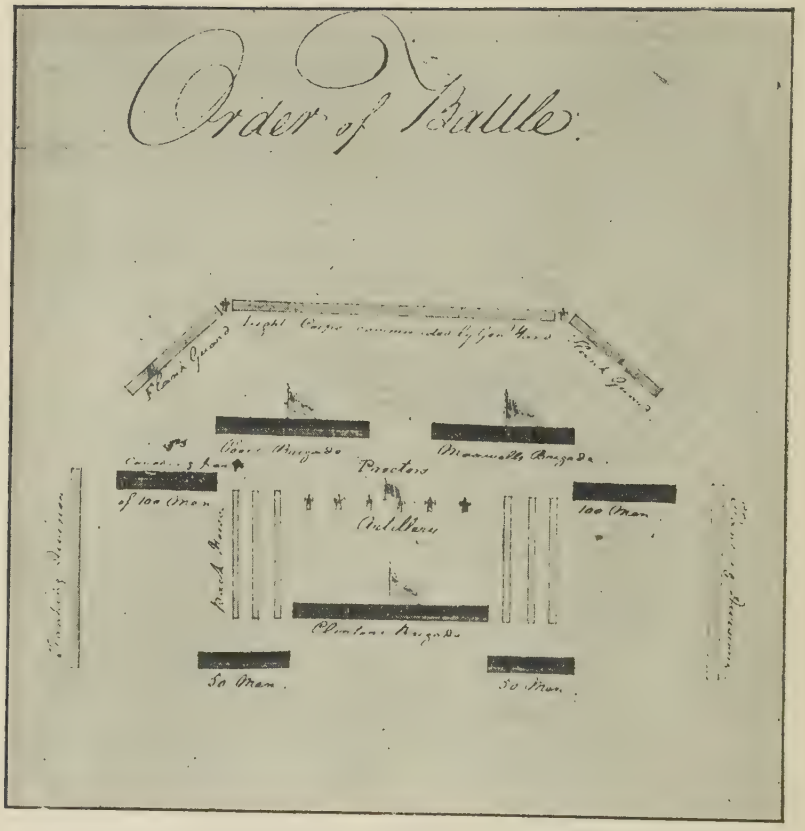
August 28th.—Lay by till 2 o'clock P.M.—ordered that one days provision be stopt in lieu of the corn and beans. Crossed the Tioga river twice which was very deep & rapid—One of our batteaus was fired upon by a party of Indians—a little after our left flank discovered two Indians & fired upon them—but they escaped—at

dark encamped at Shemung, dist. 4 miles—This place is situated on a large plain on the banks of the Tioga river & was lately a populous Indian Town, that contained about thirty houses, but was destroyed about 3 weeks ago by a detachment of Gen Sullivans Army.

August 29th.—Marched at 10 o'clock—the country continued level for some distance & very fertile. At 10 o'clock P.M. & about 3 miles above Chemung our advance parties discovered the enemy in front posted on an eminence behind a breastwork of logs &c, a few shots were exchanged, then our party returned and gave the intelligence—Our Artillery was then ordered to file off to the right about a quarter of a mile from the enemies' works When we unloaded and disencumbered ourselves of our baggage &c undiscovered by the enemy. In the mean time our right wing commanded by Gen. Poor, by a circuituous march endeavoured to outflank and gain the enemies' rear, while part of the left wing crossed the Tioga River, which lay about half a mile on our left, in order to intercept their retreat. Should they attempt to pass that way—The rest of the army was left as a reserve to cover the Artillery and make the attack in front if necessary.

In this situation we remained near an hour keeping up a small fire of musquetry on the enemies front until the time allowed the right wing, to gain the post they intended, was expired—our Artillery was then ordered to advance upon the eminence, about two hundred yards in front of the enemies' works, where we began the attack by opening upon them two 5½ Irish Howitzers & 6 three pounders, when a pleasing peice of Music ensued. But the Indians I beleive did not admire the sound so much, nor could they be prevailed upon to listen to its music, although we made use of all the eloquence we were masters of for that purpose, but they were deaf to our entreaties and turned their backs upon us in token of their detestation for us.

In this situation without waiting to bid us good bye, they retreated with loss and the greatest precipitation. As soon as they began to retreat, parties were sent in pursuit of them—We remained on our ground for some time and were then ordered to advance up to their works—which we found situated on an eminence, with a small plain of clean land in front and pine woods in the rear—their works were made of pine logs, about a mile in length, about three feet high, and forming a number of angles, interspersed with green boughs in front to prevent discovery—from these we proceeded to their camp about a mile further where we halted & gave the signal for the right wing to find us & come in, which they did & gave the following account, that they were greatly deceived in the situation & distance of the ground which took up more time than they expected, to accomplish their



(*Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society*)

ORDER OF BATTLE FROM HUBLEY'S JOURNAL

design—and that they only fell in with the enemies' flank as they were retreating, when they had two men killed and about 30 wounded, a white man and a negro man taken prisoners, who gave an account that their whole force was collected there, consisting of 600 Indians & 200 whites, commanded by Butler & Brandt & the rest of the savage brethren.

It appears from the best accounts that they had intended making their principal stand at that place & had nearly all their force collected for that purpose—Their works were constructed upon a good peice of ground and very well done for defence against musquetry.

It must also be allowed that our plan of attack was judiciously laid, well executed and must reflect great Honor on those that conducted it—but the badness of the road with some other circumstances, prevented the right wing from gaining their post as soon as could be wished for & thereby part of the plan proved unsuccessful. Our loss was three killed and thirty six wounded—Sixteen of the enemy were found dead and a great number must be wounded.

August 30th.—This day almost all the army were employed in cutting down the corn in this neighborhood. Several hundred acres were destroyed in this manner—A Lieutenant of Coll. Cileg's Regt. died of the wounds he received in the action yesterday. The army received thanks of the General, for their behaviour yesterday—In the afternoon it was proposed to the troops whether they would consent to live on half allowance of provisions, which was unanimously agreed to—The smallness of our Magazines & the impossibility of procuring another supply in season rendered this measure absolutely necessary—The troops in testimony of their approbation gave three huzzas which re-echoed from Regiment to Regiment—a small shower of rain in the evening—At dark the two Howitzers, two three pounders, all waggons &c. were taken down to be dismounted and put in boats—about eleven o'clock at night they were all sent down the river together with the wounded and every thing that was superfluous, to the garrison at Tioga, under the direction of Capt McClure.

This place has been the encampment of the enemy for sometime past & is situated in a beautiful plain on the banks of the Tioga river, surrounded by large and extensive fields of corn of an amazing height, filled with different kinds of vegetables all of an excellent quality. Those fields of corn appear to have been planted on purpose to supply their scouts with provisions when they intended to make excursions on our frontier.

August 31st.—Marched at 10 o'clock, the roads pretty bad but the land exceeding good for four miles where we crossed a creek that

emptied itself into the Tioga at a place called Newtown. Here was an Indian Settlement and a small town which we destroyed. After we left this place we entered a very large and extensive plain, that produced little more than a few pine trees and wild grass. Marched about five miles further, the plain continuing, and encamped there. This day we found the advantage of leaving our heavy artillery behind, having marched about 10 miles.

September 1st.—Marched at 10 o'clock—The plain mentioned yesterday continued about 3 miles further, then we entered a defile with a mountain on our left and a large and extensive meadow on our right. In this meadow the water separates. The Cauga Branch running S. East falls into the Tioga at New Town—another Creek runs North West and falls into the Sennecca Lake near Catherine's Town. These creeks interlap each other and run directly opposite and nearly parallel in the meadow and but a small distance apart—This defile continued about two miles and then we entered into a dark, gloomy & almost impenetrable Hemlock swamp, which continued for eight miles further —in many places it was so thick as scarcely ever to admit the rays of the sun to enter. Some places we were obliged to ascend an almost perpendicular height and next descend the precipice into low muddy valleys filled with dirty rivulets. In this manner we proceeded cutting our road for the Artillery all the way—About two miles from the end of the swamp, night came on & left us in the midst of those gloomy regions, without the assistance of Sun, Moon or Stars, or even the benefit of a road—Here we were oblidged to make fires at the distance of thirty or forty yards from each other to assist us in making the road—until at length we arrived at Catherine Town at the end of the swamp about eleven o'clock—In short the difficulties we encountered to-day would have prevented any army on the face of the globe under our circumstances to have accomplished—but those who had nobly stepped forth in defence of their injured country and firmly resolved to surmount every obstacle and brave all dangers and difficulties that presented themselves in the way. When we arrived at Catherine's Town, the Indians had but just left, not expecting us there that night—they left their fires burning and had just time to make their escape. This was a very pretty Town that contained about thirty Houses very well built on a good peice of ground—most of the houses were pulled down for fires to warm and dry ourselves before morning.

September 2nd.—This morning almost all the houses in the Town were demolished, having been burnt last night—Several Horn Cows &c were brought in by the Soldiers and sold—An old Indian squaw was found near the Town who gave account that the Indians had just

left the town last night as our advance parties entered it & that previous to their departure they held a consultation when the Squaws urged the warriors to fight us but they refused it saying we were invincible & that it was in vain for them to attempt it—

Gen. Clinton's Brigade (who brought up the rear) did not arrive until noon, having been obliged to lay in the swamp all night. They as well as the other parts of the army, I believe, will not soon forget that they once passed through Catherine's Swamp—

Parties of observation were sent out, who returned in the Evening, giving an account, that they had seen the tracks of a number of Indians as they had retreated & lay by the remainder of the day—Ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march tomorrow morning.

September 3rd.—Marched at 9 o'clock—the roads low and muddy for three miles—then we saw a very large meadow, at some distance on our left—then we ascended a very high hill where we saw the head of the Seneca Lake & the meadow, before mentioned, above the head of the lake. When we arrived at the top of the hill, the land was level and the woods open. Several tracks of the Indian's late retreat appeared on the way—encamped in the woods near a small brook—forage for our horses very scarce, dist. 12 miles.

September 4th.—Rain in the morning prevented us from marching until 10 o'clock, when we struck our tents & got under way, passed some low, deep hollows & brooks—came to some Corn fields & a few houses which we destroyed—saw the Seneca lake several times at some distance on our left—The land continued very good the greatest part of the way—encamped in the woods, distance 10 miles.

September 5th.—Marched at 7 o'clock the roads continued nearly the same as yesterday—the land exceeding good—Saw the lake several times—encamped at a place, called Condoy, but in English it is called Appletown, no doubt it first received this name from the number of apple-trees that grew there—This place appears to be an old settlement & contains upwards of twenty houses on a very pleasant situation—an old man an inhabitant of Wyoming was retaken by our advance parties, who gave accounts that the enemy had retreated to Canadesoga, where they intended to make a stand. Encamped here—dist. 8 miles.

September 6th.—A number of cattle strayed which prevented us from marching until 3 o'clock P.M. before which time, two sergeants arrived from Tioga—brought a number of letters with them giving an account of several advantages gained by our troops in different parts of the country. A small town was burnt on the Cauga Lake by a party that was sent in search of some baggage that was lost—the place appeared to be left in the greatest precipitation—a considerable Quantity of

plunder was found in it—Encamped near the lake where there was plenty of grass & wild peas for our horses & cattle, &c a most beautiful situation with a full view of the lake. A small town appeared on the opposite side of the lake which was about five miles across—Dist. to-day 3 miles.

September 7th.—Marched at 9 o'clock, the land low & very rich, the woods open. Arrived at the outlet of the lake, about 3 o'clock, P. M. Here we waited until 5 giving time for Gen. Hand & Maxwell to arrive at the Town of Canadesaga, which they did by a circuitous march & by different Route, judging the enemy were still in possession of it—two pieces of cannon were kept in the rear lest an attack should be made on that quarter; we then crossed the outlet which was about 40 yards wide & proceeded round to the N.Yr. Corner—our march was detained until dark when we were oblidged to drag our pieces over Logs, Morasses &c, and arrived at the town about 10 o'clock, where the rest of the army were encamped—Canaugoe is situated about two miles from the lake (& three from the outlet) on a rising piece of ground & contained about fifty houses. It appears to be a very old settlement, there are a great number of apple & peach trees here, which we cut down & destroyed—a great quantity of corn was also destroyed. This lake is called Seneca Lake, & is about 36 miles long & from 3 to 6 wide—Exceedingly beautiful & affords the most delightful prospect. The banks in many places are high, but without rocks, the land on each side rising gradually & exceeding fertile on all sides. At about 8 miles distance on the East side lies the Cayuga Lake, nearly parallel, of the same dimensions, tho' not quite so beautiful. The waters of the Seneca lake, falling into the Cayuga, about two miles, above the outlet afterwards makes part of the Trois Reveres or Three Rivers—The land between these lakes near the head is pretty high, but falls gradually towards the outlet into a flat & low Country all the way intersperced with purling streams and well calculated for every species of Agriculture & no doubt but it will one day become no inconsiderable part of the western empire—Dist. to-day 13 miles—

September 8th.—Lay by—a Detachment was sent about 6 miles up the Seneca Lake, where they destroyed a town of about twenty houses. Likewise a number of fruit trees & a great quantity of corn, in the evening another detachment was sent to assist in destroying the corn &c—

September 9th.—This morning all the sick & invalids were sent back to the garrison at Tioga—Marched at 12 o'clock, the road continued good and pretty clear for 3 miles—then we entered into a very thick and deep swamp that continued the remainder of the day. Encamped

on an eminence, that was clear of timber & filled with high grass—Dist. 7 miles—

September 10th.—Marched at 9 o'clock, the swamp continued for 5 miles further, then we entered into an open country, that was free from timber & plenty of grass—next we came to the side of a lake that appeared to be 10 or 12 miles long & 1½ wide but very shallow—we then proceeded along the east side of it, about a mile to the N. end where we crossed the outlet that made a considerable brook—about from this outlet we entered the Town of Veruneudaga which contained about thirty Houses, very good and lately built—these we immediately burnt & then encamped about a mile from there near several cornfields, which we likewise destroyed—Dist. 12 miles.

September 11th.—Marched at 6 o'clock, the land low but very thick of young timber for 3 miles. Then we asscended some rising ground that was clear of timber in many places & full of grass—passed several deep hollows, next we descended a long hill, passed through a meadow & crossed a brook which we supposed came out of a lake at some distance on our left, the land continued pretty clear. Arrived at Kannanyayen about 4 o'clock. There was an old town that contained a number of houses. This place is situated on a large plain between two lakes—here was also a number of fruit trees & a large cornfield—Dist. 13½ miles.

September 12th.—Rain in the morning prevented our marching until 12—we then drew 4 days provision & leaving one piece of artillery, all our Baggage, pack horses, drivers & Invalids proceeded. Crossed the outlet of a Lake that appeared to be about 5 miles long & ½ broad; encamped at sunset in the woods, dist. 10 miles.

September 13th.—Marched at 6 o'clock, the morning very cold, in about 3 miles we arrived at a small Town, situated in a large plain called Egitsa, here was a great quantity of corn &c—At this place we halted until 10, in order to destroy the corn & build a bridge over a brook & morass about half a mile in front & otherwise impassible, previous to which Lieut. Boyd (of the Rifle corps) was detached with 25 men to a town about 6 miles further, where he arrived about daylight this morning—here he killed & scalped an Indian & wounded another—then returned towards camp, after having made all the discoveries he could. After they had travelled about 2 miles they agreed to lay by & wait the arrival of the army, but in the meantime sent two of the party to carry the Intelligence to the General. After the men had travelled about a mile, they saw Indians on the path before them, upon which they immediately retired back to their main body, they then all set out in order to return to the main army & if possible to

come across the five Indians; after they had got within about a [?] of the army they saw another Indian, whom they killed & scalped likewise, but before done, they were all at once surrounded by a large body of Indians—Eleven of the party have returned, Lieut. Boyd with the remainder have not yet returned, & it is to be feared have fell a sacrifice to their barbarity—Upon hearing the firing the light Infantry were immediately ordered to reinforce; after this the bridge being completed the army marched over the morass & asscended a very high hill. Just as our advance parties & Right flank were at the top of the hill, they discovered the Indians retreating, which they did with such precipitation as to leave the greatest part of their knapsacks & baggage behind, which fell into the hands of our men—On this hill we found the bodies of four of our men, that had been butchered by the enemy. McLodge, the Surveyor, & his party having advanced some distance in front of the army were fired at & one of the party shot through the body, who died the next morning. We then proceeded on through an exceeding high country to Cassawalaughlin about 6 miles; on our arrival there we expected to meet the enemy. Accordingly we drew up in front of the town with our artillery where we halted some time, expecting to see the enemy with our right & left wings on the flanks & after some time advanced into the town, which we found evacuated; fired three cannon, pitched our tents & lay till morning—dist. 9 miles.

September 14th.—Got up at 3 o'clock & lay upon our arms until day in order to prevent a surprize. Large parties were detached to cut down the corn &c. Marched at 12 o'clock, crossed a large brook near the town, then entered into a most beautiful & extensive plain, which afforded an unbounded prospect; here was almost a perfect level & nothing to obstruct the sight but a few spreading Oaks beautifully Intersperced & plenty of grass that grew spontaneous on every part & full six feet high. This plain is called the great Genesee plains & where we cross it was about 3 miles wide & runs to a great length. Near the west side runs the Seneca River about 80 yards wide & is a most beautiful plain. We then crossed it & proceeded by a N. course to the Genesee Town, which is about 3 miles down the river, & entered it about 5 o'clock; found it also evacuated. This town is situated near the river on a large fruitful plain & contained about eighty houses. some of which were very good. At this place we found the bodies of Lieut. Boyd and another, (mentioned yesterday) in a putrified & mangled condition. Lieut. Boyd was found with his head cut off & skinned all over, his eyes torn out, his nails pulled off, his body bruised & beat all over, & every other cruelty exercised upon him that malice & savage barbarity could invent, some of which are too shock-

ing to relate. The greatest part of their cruelties appears to have been committed upon him while he was alive, in order to heighten his misery & satisfy their revenge. Thus died a good citizen, an agreeable friend & a gallant soldier—Inspired with every Heroe's virtue he fell a victim to their savage barbarity in defence of the injured rights of mankind. At dark he was inter'd with the Honors of war &c—Dist. to-day, 5 miles.

September 15th.—At 6 o'clock the whole army was ordered to destroy the corn, which grew in amazing quantities in this place, with almost every kind of vegetables—which we entirely destroyed, first by collecting it & carrying it to the Houses, which we filled & then set on fire, & gathering large quantities of wood, mixed the corn with it in a pile & burnt it to ashes. At 12 we finished the destruction of the corn & likewise the business of the Expedition, when receiving the General's thanks, we set out on our return. At 3 we began our march almost in the same order reversed that we advanced in when repassing the river at same place we passed it the day before, entered on the plain and encamped on the Little Genesee.

September 16th.—Thus had we advanced 140 miles in the Enemy's country from Tioga and carried fire, sword and destruction in every part, that we could possibly find out or approach, in the prosecution of which, we had to encounter many and almost insurmountable difficulties, such as forcing a march all the way, cutting a Road for the Artillery, in many places a continued swamp for several miles, want of provisions, hard marches, and fatigue.

But here let us leave the busy army for a moment and suffer our imaginations to Run at large through these delightful wilds, & figure to ourselves the opening prospects of future greatness which we may reasonably suppose is not far distant, & that we may yet behold with a pleasing admiration those deserts that have so long been the habitation of beasts of prey & a safe asylum for our savage enemies, converted into fruitful fields, covered with all the richest productions of agriculture, amply rewarding the industrious husbandman by a golden harvest: the spacious plains abounding with flocks & herds to supply his necessary wants. These Lakes & Rivers that have for ages past rolled in sacred silence along their wonted course, unknown to Christian nations, produce spacious cities & guilded spires, rising on their banks, affording a safe retreat for the virtuous few that disdains to live in affluence at the expense of their liberties. The fish too, that have so long enjoyed a peaceful habitation in these transparent regions, may yet becc · subservient to the inhabitants of this delightful country.

Large detachments were sent out early this morning to destroy the remainder of the corn. Marched at 12 o'clock, Repassed the Little Genesee River, where we halted until the whole army crossed, then proceeding by the same route we had advanced, found the bodies of 14 of the party mentioned the 13th inst. They were all found, tomahawked scalped & butchered in the most cruel manner; buried them, halted at Egitsa (mentioned the 13th), to destroy the remainder of the corn, encamped there &c.

September 17th.—Marched at 6 o'clock, passed the encampment & lake mentioned the 12th Inst., Arrived at Kennagaugus, where we found our baggage & provisions safe, which gave us great satisfaction, as we were under apprehensions that the enemy might take advantage of the weakness of the garrison & attempt to take possession of it, encamped there.

September 18th.—The General ordered us to be up at 5 but the great deficiency of Pack horses prevented our marching until 7, met by two Indians from Fort Schuyler, passed Keunandaga & encamped on the bank of the lake mentioned on the 11th inst.

September 19th.—Marched at 9, passed the encampment of the 9th & the swamp, encamped at Canasago about sunset—Dist. 16 miles. This day we were met by three men, who came express from Tioga, with dispatches for the General, they likewise gave acc'ts that there was plenty of provisions at that place, & that they had sent a quantity up the River as far as Newtown.

September 20th.—A detachment of 100 men & the command being ordered to force a march to Fort Schuyler, I agreed to go with them & accordingly we set out at 3 o'clock P.M., leaving the army encamped passed the end of the Seneca Lake to the outlet at the place we had crossed as we advanced, then proceeding down the river encamped at Scharoyos. This has been an Indian village & contained about twenty houses, which were burned previous to our coming by a detachment of the army, it is situated on the bank of the Seneca outlet which at this place forms a beautiful River of about 50 yards wide. Here we got plenty of vegetables of almost every kind, potatoes in particular, & as we had now plenty of fresh beef & flour with us, we made an elegant repast, such as for a long time before we had been strangers to. About dark Coll. Butler arrived with a detachment of 600 men on an Expedition against the Cayuga settlements—dist. 9 miles.

September 21st.—Marched at sunrise, the country open & free from hills & withal very fertile for 6 miles—then we crossed some low land & deep swamps, arrived at the Cayuga lake, 10 o'clock, dist. 10 miles. Crossed the mouth of the lake, which was about 400 yards wide & in

most places 4 feet deep with, at least, a foot of mud in the bottom, then proceeding about a mile up the lake struck off near a N. E. corner. The country continued open for 10 miles & the timber chiefly oak, then we entered thick beech and Elm land, crossed the outlet of it & encamped on the bank. This lake is about a mile & a half in width and the length uncertain,—some say 30 miles,—there is a beautiful beach here of a great extent, the outlet forms a considerable stream of a gentle descent. Dist. to-day 30 miles.

September 22d.—Marched at sunrise. The land & timber the same as yesterday. Arrived at the outlet of a lake, that appeared nearly of the same dimensions of the Wasco, halted a few minutes & then descended into a very deep valley, where there was a considerable brook, then ascended a very high hill, & the land & woods nearly the same as before. Arrived at Onandaga about sunset; this was the capital of the Onandaga nation & was destroyed last Spring by a detachment of our army from Fort Schuyler, under the command of Coll. Vanschaick—Dist. 30 miles.

September 23d.—Marched a little after sunrise, crossed the Onandaga River & ascended the hill; The woods continued open for five miles. Our advance parties discovered two Indians on the path before them, who immediately fled & left one of their packs. The woods then was thick. & the land very good in most places & filled with a number of crystal rivulets, halted at Sunken Spring in the road. Arrived at Canaseraga, a handsome village & Capital of the Tuscarora Tribe—The inhabitants appear very hospitable & presented us with boiled corn & eels, with every other thing their town afforded, they likewise congratulated us on the success of our arms & insisted on our tarrying with them all night. After staying with them sometime, we marched about six miles further & encamped in an old field. Dist. 31 miles.

September 24th.—Marched at sunrise, the land very good. Arrived at the Oneida Castle, about 9 o'clock, the inhabitants received us very kindly, made a genteel apology for their not being apprised of our coming and also congratulated us on our success. Halted a short time & then marched for Fort Schuyler, where we arrived at 3 o'clock, met with a genteel reception from the garrisons—dist. 26 miles. This is a regular work with four Bastions, in which are several pieces of cannon, is beautifully situated about 400 yards from the Mohawk River on the west side, the wall is high, the ditch wide & well picketed, a strong gate & draw-bridge with one sally port, it was built by Stanwix, last war, but is now greatly improved & has changed its name to Fort Schuyler, famous for the noble defence that was made in it by Col.

Gansewoort in 1777. At present it is garrisoned by the First N. York Regt. under the command of Col. Van Dyke.

September 25th.—Marched at 4 o'clock P.M., having detached an officer with some men in two batteaux, which contained our baggage and provisions, with orders to meet us in the evening at our encampment. The roads muddy, passed the place where Gen. Herkimer's battle happened; the skulls & bones of many of the unfortunate victims are still to be found. Encamped at Arisca—the extreme dry season prevented our boats from arriving. Rain in the evening—dist. 8 miles.

September 26th.—Marched before sunrise. Crossed the River at old Fort Schuyler, dist. 8 miles, then we arrived near Germantown—here was the first inhabitants we had seen for three months—the people very inhospitable—arrived at Fort Dayton on the beautiful German Flats—then proceeded over the River to Fort Hackeman (about a mile), where we were well received by Colonel Van Rensselear, Comd. of the Garrisons, where we tarried all night.

September 27th.—Marched at 9 o'clock, (having previously detached some men in batteaux to carry off the remainder of the Mohawk tribe that lived on Schohare Creek), sent our baggage in batteaux. Crossed the River at Col. Clock's, a little rain, lodged at Col. Wormwood's.

September 28th.—Rain in the morning. Marched at 8 o'clock. Arrived at the old Fort at Johnston Hall at sunset, dist. 26 miles.

September 29th.—Marched at 8 o'clock—Arrived at Schanectady at 1 o'clock—Arrived in Albany at dark, very dirty and tired, dist. 39 miles. Remained in Albany until the 7th of October, when we shipped our Baggage on board a sloop bound for New Windsor, then set out in company with Capt. Machin—Rode to Conines, where we lodged, dist. 20 miles.

October 8th.—Continued our journey, arrived in Esopus at sunset, from there we went to "Green Hill" where we lodged—dist. 44 miles.

October 9th.—Lay by to day—Treated very politely by the family.

October 10th.—Set out this morning towards New Windsor, parted with Capt. Machin, arrived at Little Britain.

October 11th.—Set out for New Windsor, where I met some gentlemen of our party, with whom I went for orders to Head Quarters at West Point. Returned in the evening, hard rain.

Oceober 12th.—Encamped with the detachment of artillery that was encamped there, who treated me very politely.

October 15th.—Saw several Gentlemen from Gen. Sullivan's Army.

October 16 & 17th.—Nothing material happened.

October 18th.—Went to the Park at Chester, staid there two days & then returned.

October 27th.—Nothing worthy of notice happened until the 27th, when I went to West Point, where I saw a number of old acquaintances, staid there two days & then returned.

October 30th.—Received a number of letters from several gentlemen arrived from different parts—Ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to join our corps.

October 31st.—Waited for further orders.

November 7th.—Set out for New Windsor with our baggage, in company with Capt. Machin & St. Cebra (the detachment from the York line having marched the day before to join the western army in the Clove), lodged in the Clove. Met Capt. Porter who informed us the army had marched for Pompton.

November 8th.—Marched at 9 o'clock, lodged near Ringwood, dist. 22 miles.

November 9th.—Marched at 10, arrived at Pompton about 1 o'clock P.M., where we found the army.

November 10th.—Lay by; in the afternoon we shifted our ground & encamped in the woods, very cold in the evening.

November 12th.—The army put on half allowance of flour.

November 15th.—Capt. McClure arrived from Head Quarters.

Received at Pompton of Lieut. Robt. Parker, our pay for the months of May June, July & August last:

Michal Royall, Sergt. . . .	40	dolls
Archd. McFair, Sergt. . . .	40	"
John Kelly, Bomb'r, . . .	36	"
John Johnston, " . . .	36	"
John McGregor, Sergt. . .	40	"
Arthur Gillas, ...	33 1/3	"
George Stewart, ...	33 1/3	"
Saml. Laughlan, ...	33 1/3	"
Iac. Bennington, ...	33 1/3	"
Jás. Ryburn, ...	33 1/3	"
John Mark, ...	33 1/3	"
Robert Jeff, ...	33 1/3	"
Alex. Martin, ...	33 1/3	"
Reuben Benjon, ...	33 1/3	"
Benj. Phipps, ...	33 1/3	"
Jas. Wilson, ...	33 1/3	"
John Dunn, ...	33 1/3	"

Received at Pompton of Lieut. Parker, the sums annexed to our names as part of our pay & subsistence for the months of May June July & August last:

Andrew Porter, Capt. Art'y, ...	348 2/3
Jas. McClure, Capt. Lieut. Art'y, . . .	207 2/3
Ezra Patterson, ...	207 2/3
Ezekiel Howell, ...	207 2/3
Robt. Parker, Lieut.	207 2/3

[Entries after November 15th are omitted as they have no relation to the Sullivan Campaign.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Manuscripts

The principal sources for the American side are to be found in the papers of Washington and of the Continental Congress in the Library of Congress. They are frequently referred to in the *Chronology* and in the *Selected Letters and Documents* in this volume and the printed calendars are listed below.

For the British side, the sources are in the State Papers and the Haldimand Collection in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. The calendars of these series are referred to in the following list.

Printed Material, Mainly Sources

Citations in present volume are to brief title as given in italics after the entries, which are in alphabetic order except for the first one.

[Conover, George S., *comp.*] Journals of the military expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with records of centennial celebrations; (under direction of) F. C. Cook, Secretary of State. Auburn 1887. (*Sull. Ind. Exp.*)

This official publication of 580 pages properly heads any list of works relating to the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. It contains the 26 journals of officers, official reports, lists, addresses at the various centennial exercises and a lengthy historical account by the Rev. David Craft. The journals are supplemented by those of James Fairlie, Obadiah Gore and Robert Parker in this volume; that of Nathaniel Webb is continued for September 1st to October 17th in volume VI of the *Proceedings* of the New York State Historical Association.

[Almon, John, *ed.*] The Remembrancer. 17v. Lond. 1775–84. (Almon, *Remembrancer*)

American Philosophical Society. Calendar of the correspondence relating to the American Revolution of . . . Nathanael Greene. Phil. 1900

Amory, T. C. The military service and public life of Major General John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary army. Bost. and Albany 1868

Bleeker, Leonard. The order book of Capt. Leonard Bleeker in the early part of the expedition against the Indian Settlements of western New York in the campaign of 1779. N. Y. 1865. (Bleeker, *Order Book*)

Burnett, E. C., *ed.* Letters of members of the Continental Congress. v. 1–2 (1774–77). Wash. 1921–23. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 299) (Burnett, *Letters Cont. Cong.*)

Canada. Archives. Reports. Ottawa 1882–date

See especially the calendar of the Haldimand Collection and State Papers.

Clinton, George. Public papers of George Clinton, first governor of New York; ed. by the State Historian. 10v. Albany 1899–1914 (*Clinton Papers*)

Vol. 1–8, ed. by Hugh Hastings; vol. 9–10, ed. by J. A. Holden. Introduction by Hugh Hastings, 1:1–189.

Davis, A. M. The Indians and the border warfare of the Revolution (In Winsor, *Narrative and critical history*, 6:605–84)

Edson, Obed. Brodhead's expedition against the Indians of the upper Allegheny. (In *Magazine American History*, 3:647–70)

Force, Peter, *comp.* American archives: a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs; forming a documentary history. 9v. Wash. 1837–53. (Force, *Amer. Arch.*)

Only six volumes of series 4 (1774–76) and three volumes of series 5 (1776) were published.

Halsey, F. W. Old New York frontier. N. Y. 1901

Letters of George Washington to George and James Clinton. N. Y. (1906)

New York State Historical Association. Proceedings. 1901–date.

See volume 6 containing a bibliography of Sullivan's Indian expedition, by Grenville M. Ingalsbe, and a portion of the Webb journal.

New York (State). Laws. Laws of the State of New York; republished by the Secretary of State. v. 1, 1777–84. Albany 1886

New York (State). Legislature. Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New York; ed. by E. B. O'Callaghan. v. 8. Albany 1857. (*Doc. rel. col. hist. N. Y.*)

Often cited as New York Colonial Documents. v. 8, London documents, 1768–82. v. 15, State archives: New York in the Revolution; ed. by Berthold Fernow.

Norton, A. Tiffany. History of Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois. N. Y. 1879

O'Reilly, Henry. Notices of Sullivan's campaign, or the Revolutionary warfare in Western New York. Rochester 1842

Pennsylvania Archives. 1st ser. v. 11. Phil. 1854

Seaver, James E. A narrative of the life of Mary Jemison, the white woman of the Genesee. Numerous editions.

Simms, J. R. The frontiersmen of New York. 2v. Albany 1882–83

A revised and enlarged edition of his *History of Schoharie county and the border wars of New York.* Albany 1845.

Stone, W. L. Life of Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea: including the border wars of the American Revolution. 2v. N. Y. 1838. New ed. 2v. Albany 1865. (Stone, *Brant*)

U. S. Continental Congress. Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–89; edited from the original records in the Library of Congress. v. 1–25 (1774–83). Wash. 1904–22. (*Jour. Cont. Cong.*)

U. S. Library of Congress. . . . Calendar of the correspondence of George Washington . . . with the Continental Congress. Wash. 1906

——— . . . Calendar of the correspondence of George Washington . . . with the officers. 4v. Wash. 1915

——— List of the Washington Manuscripts. Wash. 1919

Washington, George. Writings; ed. by Jared Sparks. 12v. 1834–37. (Sparks, *Washington*)

——— Writings; ed. by W. C. Ford. 14v. N. Y. 1889–93. (Ford, *Washington*)

Willers, Diedrich, Jr. The Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois in 1779. Waterloo, New York, 1880

INDEX

Andrustown (Andrewtown) destroyed, 62
Armstrong, John, letter from, 78
Barber, T., letter from, 35
Bellinger, Peter, colonel, letter from, 68
Bibliography, 211
Bolton, Mason, lieutenant colonel, letters from, 129, 143, 151, 157, 168–70
Brant, Joseph, 58; account of council in 1775, 50; account of Minisink, 108; letters from, 53, 108, 129
Brodhead, Daniel, colonel, expedition, 14, 25–26; instructions to, 75–77, 81; writes Sullivan of his plans, 117; British report of expedition, 139; report, 152–55; congratulates Sullivan, 171; thanked by Congress, 173
Butler, John, colonel (referred to as *major* in some of the letters), letters from, 74, 83, 87, 89, 90, 100, 102, 105, 113–15, 120–22, 131, 135–38, 140, 145, 147–49, 156
Butler, Walter, captain, letter from, 87
Carleton, Sir Guy, general, letter from, 52
Chemung skirmish, 127, 131
Chronological History of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, 17–48
Claus, Daniel, colonel, letter from, 58
Cherry Valley attacked, 69
Clinton, George, governor, letter from, 69
Clinton, James, general, expedition, 13, 26–31; instructions of Washington, 94; letters from, 78, 95, 99, 105, 106, 116, 119, 132
Cobleskill destroyed, 61
Committees on Sesquicentennial, 3
Continental Congress, journals of, 49, 55, 61, 62, 67, 77, 171–73
Dartmouth, earl of, letter from, 51
Deane, James, letter from, 59
Dietz, William, letter from, 61
Docksteder, John, letter from, 139
Fairlie, James, lieutenant, journal, 175–78
Flick, Alexander C., Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779, 9–16
Fonda, Jelles, letter from, 83
Fort Dayton attacked, 68
Gage, Thomas, general, letter from, 49
Gansevoort, Peter, colonel, account of Indian council, 57; sent to Mohawk Valley, 155, 206–8; letters from, 118
Gates, Horatio, general, offered command of expedition, 73; declines, 75
Gore, Obadiah, lieutenant, journal, 179–88
Groveland ambuscade, 148
Haldimand, Frederick, general, letter from, 170
Indian expedition, authorized, 9, 61, 67; urged by Clinton, 69; planned, 10–16, 70; "barbarities," 16; outlined by Washington, 71–73; command offered to Gates and declined, 73, 75. *See also* Brodhead; Clinton, James; Sullivan; Van Schaick; for British accounts, *see* Brant; Butler; McDonell
Indians, American policy in 1775, 49; in 1776, 55; British employment of, 49–53, 57–59, 68, 70; council at Albany, 52; at Montreal, 50, 52; at Niagara, 57; letter from Oneidas, 54; hostility of Senecas, 59; Onondagas divided, 74, 90; scarcity of food, 99–101; Sullivan's speech to the Oneidas, 142
Johnson, Guy, colonel, journal May to November 1775, 53; letters from, 57, 68, 140
Johnson, Sir John, letter from, 158
Johnston, John, captain, letters from, 82, 83
Ker, Nathan, letter from, 111
Klock, Jacob, colonel, letter from, 62
McDonell, John, captain, letters from, 107, 115
Minisink battle, American accounts, 109, 111; Brant's account, 108, 114

New York State approves Indian expedition, 77
Newtown battle, 132–39, 143–45
Niagara, expected attack, 151
Onondaga expedition, 13, 23–24. *See also* Van Schaick
Parker, Robert, lieutenant, journal, 188–210; Clinton march, 188–95; Sullivan march, 195–206; Gansevoort detachment, 206–8
Program of observances, 7
Selected Letters and Documents, 49–173
Springfield destroyed, 62
Sullivan, John, general expedition, 14–16, 31–48; outlines expedition, 79–81; instructions and letters from Washington, 84, 90–93, 103, 111–13, 151; first reports, 85; criticised by Washington, 101, 122–26; reports, 85; reports Chemung skirmish, 127; speech to the Oneidas, 142; report to Congress, 159–68; congratulated by Brodhead, 171; chided by Congress, 171; thanked by Congress, 172; letters from, 106, 111, 155
Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779, by Alexander C. Flick, 9–16
Sullivan-Clinton Journals, Not Published in *Sullivan's Indian Expedition:* James Fairlie, 175–78; Obadiah Gore, 179–88; Robert Parker, 188–210
Tryon, William, governor, letter from, 70
Van Cortlandt, Philip, colonel, letter from, 70
Van Schaick, Goose, colonel, expedition, 13, 23–24, 78, 83; letter from, 86
Washington, George, general, thanked by Congress, 172, 173; letters and instructions from, 71–77, 81, 84, 90–94, 96, 101, 103, 111–13, 122–26, 151
West Branch raid, 115
Whiting, Daniel, major, report, 69
Wyoming massacre, account of, 65

THE LIBRARY OF THE
APR 2 5 1930
UNIVERSITY OF

J. B. LYON COMPANY, PRINTERS, ALBANY, N. Y.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
3 0112 047554396